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ABSTRACT

This final report of the Bilingual Education Conference presents an overview of the state of the art in America and position papers on various theoretical aspects of bilingual education. The work of over 40 leading specialists in the field includes discussions of research, theories, and operational programs. Extensive discussion of a typology of bilingual education, problems of research in a "plurilingual universe", and children's second language learning in a natural environment is incorporated. Other significant topics are a government report on the Bilingual Education Program (Elementary and Secondary Education Act: Title VII, 1967 Amendments), a keynote address on the realities of bilingual education, and the components and objectives of a bilingual program. Charts and an appendix with a conference guide, list of participants, and a typology questionnaire are furnished. (RL)

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION:
LANGUAGE SKILLS

Final Report
for
Bureau of Research
United States Office of Education
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esc
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September, 1969

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FOREWORD

The following final report represents six months of effort in program preparation, conference implementation and synthesizing of data, so that the National Conference on Bilingual Education: Language Skills could have maximum impact. Inevitably, in the preparation of a final report, decisions must be made on what materials and ideas are essential to the design of the program. It was the intent of the project director to present in this document only that information necessary to aid the Bureau of Research, U.S. Office of Education, in achieving its goals in bilingual education.

Timothy F. Regan
Project Director

CONFERENCE RATIONALE

A report by the National Advisory Committee on Mexican American Education, 1968, entitled The Mexican American: Quest for Equality, stated that "the existing programs for the Mexican American have been woefully inadequate and demand serious evaluation.... and that the U.S. Office of Education should "allocate specific funds for determining the most effective direction in research..."

This statement, reinforced by the history of failure of schools to create a viable learning atmosphere for Spanish-speaking children, the children of migrant families, urban black children, and Indian children provided sufficient impetus for the development of a wide range of bilingual programs. In addition, the implementation of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (short title, The Bilingual Education Act) made it apparent that information on bilingual education needed to be gathered in one central source.

1. It was apparent to the designers of the conference that the research underway or completed in bilingual education needed to be evaluated and the findings integrated in some manner. In addition, areas in which basic research is needed should be identified.

2. There appeared to be no comprehensive survey of bilingual education which identified both common and distinguishing characteristics of programs as a guide to further program development.

3. There was identified a need to have the principles underlying successful bilingual language training programs isolated, investigated, and disseminated.

4. A forum, such as a national conference, was postulated as the organ to allow the presentation

of theories and information on bilingualism. The goals of the bilingual conference were to be two:

a. To identify those variables which are crucial in building a successful bilingual language program. It must also identify gaps in the present body of knowledge about bilingual education which need research attention. Where feasible, the conference should set broad priority goals for future research efforts.

b. To provide recommendations to guide future efforts in research, development of curriculum materials, and possibly, teacher training.

Pre-Planning Conference

The purpose of this meeting, held at the suggestion of the U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Research, was to plan for the National Bilingual Education Conference later in the spring.

The date for the Pre-Planning Conference was set for 3-4 March 1969, at the University of Chicago just prior to the National TESOL Conference, since it was felt that most of the individuals to be invited would be planning to attend the TESOL Conference. In addition, it was felt that these individuals represented the areas already identified as pertinent in designing the large-scale national conference.

In order that the Pre-Planning session provide as much discussion as possible, the number of participants was limited to eight (8). However, two consultants were invited as well as observers from the U.S. Office of Education. These personnel were not directly involved in the discussions but were requested to make inputs from time to time.

The participants to be invited to the Pre-Planning Conference were selected from a long list of bilingual educators and theorists from the United States and Canada. An attempt was made to provide a "mix" of people who represented a cross-section of interests, theory, methodology, cultural pluralism, Mexican Americans, Indians, etc., and who would design a conference, national in scope, which would be sensitive to the needs of the field as well as accomplishing the data acquisition goal of the conference. Participants in the Pre-Planning session were:

Dr. William Mackey, Laval University

Dr. Roger Shuy, Center for Applied Linguistics

Mr. Paul Bell, Dade County School System

Mr. Ralph Robinett, Foreign Language Innovative Curriculum Study

Mr. Wayne Holm, Principal, Rock Point BIA School

Miss Muriel Pagan, Public School 25, New York City

Mr. Herb Ibarra, San Diego School System

Dr. Atilano Valencia, S.W. Cooperative Educational Laboratory

Mr. Albert Storm, Bureau of Research, U.S. Office of Education

Mr. Richard Naber, Region V, HEW

Mr. Timothy F. Regan, Vice President, Educational Systems Corporation.

To assure that all Pre-Planning participants operated from the same base, ESC sent a packet of materials for pre-conference reading. These materials included:

1) A Study of Non-Standard English, William Labov

2) Study of the Problems of Teaching English to American Indians, Sirarpi Ohanessian

3) Bilingual Elementary Schooling, Theodore Anderson

4) The Description and Measurement of Bilingualism, William F. Mackey

5) Bilingual Education Act.

An agenda was prepared for the Pre-Planning Conference to assure that all points of view were presented and that the structure of the meeting assured that the goals of the Pre-Planning session would be met.

Two days were spent defining bilingual education, presenting the rationale for the national conference and outlining strategies that would enable the conference to achieve its goals. Basically, the goals of the conference were to present what exists in the field today -- an overview of the state of the art of bilingual education -- and what needs to be known. It was decided that the main goal of the conference would be to outline areas for research in establishing broad priorities.

The product of the Pre-Planning session suggested the direction and thrust of the National Bilingual Education Conference. Subject areas to be discussed, papers to be commissioned, participants to be invited, case studies to be prepared, and a tentative agenda for the Conference were agreed upon at the meeting.

The Conference, held at the University of Maryland on 27, 28 June, 1969, convened forty of the world's leading specialists in bilingual education for the purposes of presenting an overview of the state of the art in bilingual education and position papers on various theoretical aspects of bilingual education; and to provide an opportunity for the discussion of research, theories and operational programs.

FOCUS

OF THE

BUREAU OF RESEARCH

by Mr. Albert Storm

Bureau of Research
U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

1969

The context of this conference is of more than passing interest since it virtually coincides with the implementation of the Bilingual Education Act, an Act which has profound implications for the direction of important segments of American education. This Act, which may be viewed as a symbol of changing national patterns of thought, attitude and behavior, has generated a remarkable upsurge of activity in the field of bilingual language teaching and learning.

This movement is so recent and at the same time so vigorous that verbal exchange is often the best means of knowing what colleagues in other parts of the country are doing and thinking. This Conference can therefore be interpreted as an opportunity to focus the national dialogue on research and development priorities and to disseminate these thoughts by means of the printed proceedings.

REPORT
ON THE
BILINGUAL
EDUCATION PROGRAM

by Dr. Albar A. Pena, Director

Bilingual Education Programs Branch
U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

1969

I. THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM, TITLE VII OF 1967 AMENDMENTS OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

The bilingual Education Program is designed to meet the special educational needs of children 3 to 18 years of age who have limited English-speaking ability and who come from environments where the dominant language is other than English. The concern is for children in this target group to develop greater competence in English, to become more proficient in the use of two languages, and to profit from increased educational opportunity. Though the Title VII program affirms the primary importance of English, it also recognizes that use of a child's mother tongue can have a beneficial effect upon his education. The mother tongue, used as the medium of instruction before the child's command of English is sufficient to carry the whole burden in his education, can help to prevent retardation in school performance. Moreover, the development of literacy in the non-English language should result in a more broadly educated adult.

Definition. Bilingual education means the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction. Both languages must be used as mediums of instruction for the same student population in a well organized program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum.

Authorization. Official recognition of the need for such a program came on January 2, 1967, when Congress amended the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to include a Bilingual Education Program. Fifteen million dollars was authorized for fiscal year 1968; $30 million for FY 69; and $40 million for FY 70.

No money was, however, appropriated until October 11, 1968, and then only $7.5 million (half the original amount) was allocated for fiscal year 1969.

Administration. As for all ESEA programs, administration of the Bilingual Education Program was placed in the U.S. Office of Education's Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education -- more specifically, in the Bilingual Education Programs Branch of the Division of Plans and Supplementary Centers.

Grants may be made to: (1) a local educational agency or combination of such agencies; or (2) one or more local educational agencies applying jointly with an institution of higher education.

In order to qualify for assistance under Title VII, a school or schools must enroll a sufficiently high concentration of children of limited English-speaking ability who come from low-income families earning less than $3,000 per year, or receiving payments through a program of aid to families with dependent children under a State plan approved under Title IV of the Social Security Act.

Highest priority is given to states and areas within states having the greatest need for bilingual programs and to local educational agencies with the ability to provide needed services and activities.

Operational Activities

Current. As soon as the Bilingual Education Program was funded, it became operational. A timetable was drawn up and draft regulations and guidelines were sent to State educational agencies for review, comment, and distribution to local educational agencies.

A deadline of December 20 was established for the submission of preliminary proposals to the U.S. Office of Education and State educational agencies.

In fiscal year 1969, 315 proposals were received requesting $41 million, but funds available were only 7.5 million.

Preliminary proposals then received three reviews at the Federal level -- by a panel of program specialists outside the U.S. Office of Education, by Title III area desk personnel, and by the Bilingual Education staff.

The considered opinions of all these review teams plus that of the State educational agencies determined the selection of 79 (or 25 per cent) applicants who were asked to submit formal proposals. The same procedure was followed in reviewing and analyzing the final proposals and 76 were selected and funded, representing 21 states.

Projects by languages.

Spanish	65	French	1
Spanish and Navajo	1	Chinese	1
Spanish and Chinese	1	Japanese	1
Spanish and Pomo	1	Navajo	1
Portuguese	1	Cherokee	2

States.

Arizona
California
Colorado
Connecticut
Florida
Hawaii
Illinois
Massachusetts
Michigan
Nebraska
New Jersey
New Mexico
New Hampshire
New York
Ohio
Oklahoma
Pennsylvania
Texas
Utah
Wisconsin

Total Project Participants.

26,521 pupils to be served
22% of pupils from mostly rural communities
78% of pupils from mostly urban communities
2,355 teachers engaged in In-service Training
4,3111 adults (excluding teachers)

Project Participants Percentages by Grade Levels.

Pre-kindergarten	3.4%	Grades 1 - 6	65.9%
Kindergarten	18.9%	Grades 7 - 12	11.8%

Public School Participants	95.0%
Non-Public School Participants	5.0%

Program Focus. Although limited but conclusive evidence attesting to the success of bilingual education is available, the ways in which the educational agency meets the responsibility of providing sound bilingual education programs and exploits this resource depends on the attitude and conscience of the community in trying to meet its needs. Therefore, the Office of Education, by providing funds to initiate the 76 bilingual education programs selected this year throughout the nation, and to continue for a five-year period authorized by Congress, will investigate the following hypothesis:

1. By providing instruction in the mother tongue as well as in English for part or all of the curriculum, children in bilingual education programs will progress better in school with minimal grade retentions and reach grade-level achievement in the subjects of the curriculum.

2. Through bilingual education, non-English-speaking children will become more proficient in both English and their native language.

3. A bilingual education program will enable the children to develop a true understanding and respect for their mother tongue and associated culture, leading to a more positive self-image, social and personal adjustment.

II. OBJECTIVES

A. The Office of Education, in administering funds for Title VII, ESEA, will support programs providing bilingual education programs designed to meet the special educational needs of children 3 to 18 years of age who have limited English-speaking ability and who come from environments where the dominant language is other than English.

1. To insure that children in bilingual education programs become more proficient in the use of two languages, develop greater competence in English and their

native language, and profit from increased educational opportunity so that no loss of the common learnings occur, by providing adequate curricula, materials, and innovative teaching techniques.

2. To integrate the study of the history and culture associated with a student's mother tongue in the overall design of bilingual education programs.

3. To insure that the bilingual education programs currently funded prepare, develop or adapt proper curricula, materials and equipment relevant to the needs of non-English speaking children.

4. To insure that a core of well-qualified teachers are recruited and/or trained who are fluent in two languages; knowledgeable in the psychology of learning, second language learning and teaching; competent in the teaching of subject matter in two languages; and sensitive to the needs of students involved.

5. To insure that teachers are adequately prepared and trained in the areas mentioned above, pre-service and in-service training programs for all school personnel involved in the bilingual education programs must be developed and maintained.

6. To insure the development of and effective utilization of evaluation instruments and techniques, and procedures pertaining to bilingual education.

In FY 1971 and Beyond. The growth of the Bilingual Education Program will depend largely upon the funding it receives from the Congress. It is hoped that the projects selected for FY 1969 will be maintained in fiscal year 1970 and that there will be funds for expansion of the existing programs into more comprehensive operations and also provide support for additional school districts.

THE REALITIES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

by Mr. Armando Rodriquez

Chief, Mexican American Affairs
U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

1969

"El Bilinguismo Ya No Se Considera Como Un Lujo En Nuestra Epoca: Sino Como Una Verdadera Necesidad." Senator Ralph Yarborough, Texas, 1966.

The idea of a citizen of the United States learning a foreign language -- his second language -- is not new. The idea that English is a foreign language to hundreds of thousands of our American school children, and must be taught to them as a foreign language -- a second language -- is difficult for many Americans to accept. The idea of teaching in a language other than English in our schools is even more disturbing. The battle to legitimize bilingual education as a right and necessity for these American school children was fought both in the halls of schools and in the halls of Congress.

Bilingual education is the use of the "mother" tongue of the child to teach him subject matter in the schools while he is learning English and then using both languages for instructional purposes. In its broadest context it is regarded as an educational process in which every youngster in school would be taught in his "mother" tongue while learning a second language and then using both languages for instructional purposes.

The United States Office of Education estimates that more than 9 million of our citizens use a language other than English as their "mother" tongue. Of this number, the Spanish-speaking citizen constitutes more than 90% of the total group. These Spanish-speaking citizens are divided between approximately five and one-half million Mexican Americans and one and one half million Puerto Ricans. There are also approximately one-half million Spanish-speaking citizens from countries in Latin America and Europe.

In addition to the Spanish-speaking citizen, growing numbers of school children are coming to the school with a "mother" tongue of Chinese, or Portuguese, or French, or Japanese. Added to these

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Note: This keynote address was delivered from notes by Mr. Rodriquez and later transcribed.

groups are the American Indians with their many dialects. Still much in evidence are French-speaking enclaves in the Northeast United States, and in the South, notably Louisiana.

The largest group, the Mexican American, has been most visibly affected by the failure of the school to follow their most sacred precept -- accept the child as he is, and using his natural resources, bring him along the path of self- and educational-improvement. The Mexican became a Mexican American in 1848 with the end of the Mexican War and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. From then until the mix-sixties of the 20th century little attention was given to the relation between his language and culture and his educational attainment. This situation held true despite the fact that in many of the schools in the Southwest from the early 1900's on almost the entire school population was Mexican American.

For the most part the schools adopted the attitude that the sooner the Chicano is forced to speak English, the sooner he would become an American student. One of the basic rules in most schools was that no Spanish was to be spoken at school any time. The hearings of the United States Civil Rights Commission in San Antonio in March of this year revealed that some Texas school districts maintained this policy up to within two weeks of the hearings. Doubtless some schools still adhere to such a policy. A good example of this philosophy is expressed by Mr. William Madsen in his booklet, The Mexican Americans of South Texas.

> Mrs. Lewis is a dedicated teacher who had a deep affection for the Mexican Americans in the Magic Valley. "They are a good people," she said. "Their only handicap is the bag full of superstitions and silly notions they inherited from Mexico. When they get rid of these superstitions and silly notions they will be good Americans. The schools help more

> than anything else. In time, the Latins will think and act like Americans. A lot depends on whether we can get them to switch from Spanish to English. When they speak Spanish they think Mexican. When the day comes they speak English at home like the rest of us they will be a part of the American way of life." Mrs. Lewis paused with a worried look and added, "I just don't understand why they are so insistent about using Spanish. They should realize that it's not the American tongue."

The schools had some basis for their position. In most of our states, either by constitutional declaration or by legislative statute, the schools are forbidden to use any language other than English for classroom instruction. The only exception, obviously, being the teaching of a language other than English. And in most schools you can't take a foreign language unless you have a certain level of competency in English. Which very often rules out students who have been asked to forget their "foreign" language when they seek a chance to "relearn" it.

This legal barrier, coupled with the educational philosophy that you learn a new language by completely turning your back on your first one, made the action of the schools legally and educationally acceptable. Add to this the feelings of most American communities during the war periods of 1898, 1917, and 1941, that anything spoken besides English must be subversive and the schools were in solid position.

In 1967, California enacted a law permitting schools to teach in a language other than English. In New Mexico, and in Texas, the practice of using Spanish for instruction in many schools was taking place either under the guise of "experimentation" or simply ignored by the state educational officials. One of the controlling factors in this change in attitude, both by educators and lay people, is that the use of another language for instruction is a very temporary thing, and must be supplanted very quickly by the use of English. Despite tremendous steps forward, there still remains a large number of educators and lay people who feel that the American school must remain a monolingual school for instructional purposes. They feel that if one is to stress the bilingual and bicultural assets of a group of Americans it must be done in the context that the linguistic and cultural differences must be pointed out as not American.

With these obstacles, any movement for bilingual education was bound to face a tough road. The first step forward began with an analysis of the educational level of the Mexican American after the 1960 census. The figures revealed that the Spanish-surnamed student in the five Southwestern states -- Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and California -- had completed an average of 8.1 years compared to 12.1 for Anglo students in the age group of 14 years or over. These figures substantiated what Herschel Manuel, George Sanchez, Julian Samora and many others had been saying for more than 30 years. In October of 1966, the National Education Association (NEA) sponsored a conference on "The Invisible Minority" which forcefully stated the problem of the non-English-speaking child in the monolingual school and recommended bilingual education as one of the major means of alleviating the educational crisis.

The NEA conference and booklet triggered a series of conferences and actions. In April 1967, the Texas Conference for the Mexican American was held at San Antonio. For the first time, demonstrations were given of already established bilingual and English as a Second Language programs in Texas. This conference brought together state and local educators, legislators -- both state and Federal -- community people, and Federal education officials. One of the unifying themes of this conference was the agreement that bilingual education must become a major responsibility of the Federal government in partnership with the states.

On July 1, 1967, the Mexican American Affairs Unit was established in the U.S. Office of Education. Its charge was to stimulate support by the educational agencies of the federal government for improved educational opportunities for the Mexican American. In a wider sense, this action was a moral and legal commitment to channel resources into the education of the bilingual, bicultural citizen.

During this same period a rash of similar bills was introduced in the House, one of which was sponsored by Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas. Senator Yarborough's bill, S-428, with the aid of Congressman Scheuer of New York, passed the Senate. Hearings were held in the House on the large number of bills, with Scheuer's bill, HR 13103, getting the most attention. The large number of witnesses testifying in the hearings in both the Senate and House emphasized the need for a separate law dealing with bilingual education. The majority of Congress, however, agreed that the program was of such scope that it deserved separate support. A conference committee agreed to merge Yarborough's and Scheuer's bill into a single measure which would become Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act with one change that would place all children of limited English-speaking ability under the bill. In January 1968, early in the second session of the 90th Congress, Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act, became law.

It was a law, a part of the major input of the federal government to aid the education of "disadvantaged" children, but without funds. The Johnson Administration in its budget to the second session of the 90th Congress in January 1968, sought $5 million for Title VII. The House Appropriations Committee recommended that no money be provided. Later, on the floor of the House, in an attempt to appropriate at least the $5 million asked by the

White House, the bill seeking this amount was defeated by a 96-95 vote. As Congress went through its annual hectic appropriation circus late in 1968, the struggle for support of Title VII grew intense. At the last moment of funding decisions, the sum of $7.5 was finally appropriated. One observer noted that this amounted to about $3 per child between 5 and 18 years.

The effect of this movement in recognition and support of the bilingual, bicultural citizen is still a long way from measurable. Much has been said, but little done about the cultural aspects of bilingualism. The National Advisory Committee on Mexican American Education in its report to the Commissioner of Education, The Mexican American: Quest for Equality, raises the question, "Educators, especially, must search their consciences for an answer to the question: is only a monolingual, monocultural society acceptable in America?" Bilingual education will take a long step forward in responding to the question, is only a monolingual society acceptable in America? But it will only make this step a significant one if it retains for the non-English speaking youngster a love and pride in his "mother" tongue, and only if it stimulates the monolingual youngster to seek a "second"language that will enable him to share ideas, feelings, and cultural richness with his classmate.

Language is not just an instrument for communication and learning; it is a set of values. It is his being. It is the door that we can open so the youngster can see and live and be a part of two cultures -- two societies. Commissioner Harold Howe in his speech, "Cowboys, Indians, and American Education" given at the National Conference on Educational Opportunities for Mexican Americans said, "the notion of cultural superiority has seriously harmed the United States in this century in its dealings with other peoples. Whereas European children grow up with a notion of cultural diversity, and frequently learn two or more foreign languages in the course of their formal schooling, American schools commonly isolate our children from cultural exchange."

The United States Office of Education announced on May 20 that it had approved 65 project proposals of local educational agencies for Bilingual Education Projects out of more than 300 preliminary proposals submitted. The languages range from Spanish (more than 90%) through Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, French, and the American Indian. The hope for a new way of life for these youngsters in their schools with this program is high. This hope carries with it the real dream of bilingual education -- the unreserved embracing by all Americans of the cultural diversity and richness of difference of this nation. Dr. Sabine Ulibarri of the University of New Mexico puts it so well. "In the beginning was the Word. And the Word was made flesh. It was so in the beginning and is today. The language, the Word, carries within it the history, the culture, the traditions, the very life of a people, the flesh."

THE FORMAL SETTING:
COMPONENTS OF
A BILINGUAL PROGRAM

by Dr. Theodore Andersson

Director, Bilingual Program
Southwest Educational Development
Laboratory
Austin, Texas

1969

The objectives of any bilingual program should be:

--to plan and prepare the program to gain the understanding and active support of the whole community,

--to create in both school and community a situation which will enable all children (English-speaking and other (X) language speaking) to maximize their learning capacity,

--to plan and conduct the program so that either language, or both, is used for most effective learning in any part of the curriculum,

--to encourage all children, each at his own best rate, to develop fully their first language skills,

--to encourage all children to develop fully their second language

--to enable all children to develop an understanding of the history and culture of other ethnic groups as well as their own,

and in summation,

--to provide a program that gives all children the opportunity to become articulate, literate and educated in two languages and sensitive to two cultures.

Given that the objectives are attainable, there appear five areas for consideration in the construction of a bilingual program:

Note: "The Formal Setting: Components of a Bilingual Program" represents the summary of an informal rather than formal address borrowed from Chapter IV, The Program, of the soon-to-be published book, Bilingual Schooling in the United States, by Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer, chapters 4 and 5 of which had been duplicated and distributed prior to the Conference.

- --content
- --time
- --methods and materials
- --teachers
- --evaluation

Some of the questions that arise are:

- --in which language should each subject be taught? --some or all in both -- how different for each "other" language?

- --half-time in each language? which language heavier in early stages?

- --should instruction be duplicated? what adequate materials are available for "other" language? how can current foreign-language materials be utilized? do "teacher-made" materials justify time and effort expended? how can unwritten languages be dealt with?

- --how should bilingual teachers be trained? what are proper qualifications for teachers in bilingual programs? what are advantages and disadvantages of using bilingual as teacher or of using teams? how can local bilingual aides be used?

- --what instruments are available: to evaluate children's linguistic, conceptual and attitudinal status; to evaluate candidates for teaching positions; achievement in each content area in the appropriate language; to evaluate effectiveness of the program?

These topic areas were then described as those needing investigation by the conference participants.

A TYPOLOGY
OF BILINGUAL
EDUCATION

by Dr. William F. Mackey

International Center for
Research on Bilingualism
Quebec, Canada

1969

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Bilingual Education: A Questionnaire.

INTRODUCTION

There are few countries where one cannot find some instances of bilingual education. In the past decade the demand for bilingual education has been increasing in most parts of the world. In the developing or emerging nations the demand is caused by the rise in the status of one or more of the vernacular languages combined with the need to maintain an international language for purposes of secondary and higher education. In other nations, where the official language has already attained international status, a changing climate of tolerance toward minorities has often made it possible for ethnic groups speaking a language other than that of the national majority to organize, with official approval, their own schools in their own language.

Some of these changes have been the results of regional necessity; others are the fruits of local accommodations based on purely political motives. It is important that the pressures of politics be distinguished from local linguistic needs. And linguistic needs must not be confused with linguistic desires. Language minorities have often been the victims of emotional exploitation from within by the few who can use it as a lever to personal political power.

One of the pawns in the politics of local minorities has been the question of bilingual schooling. This is a question which often arouses bitter conflicts which are rarely resolved by the sort of objective analysis and impartial study needed. The situation is aggravated by the lack of knowledge on the advantages and disadvantages of bilingual education and on the conditions under which it is useful or harmful.

What has made it difficult to obtain such knowledge is the lack of some stable references to the many sorts of bilingual education and also because of the lack of standard measures for the numerous variables.

Schools in the United Kingdom where half the school-subjects are taught in English are called bilingual schools. Schools in Canada in which all subjects are taught in English to French-Canadian children are called bilingual schools. Schools in the Soviet Union in which all subjects except Russian are taught in English are bilingual schools, as are schools in which some of the subjects are taught in Georgian and the rest in Russian. Schools in the United States where English is taught as a second language are called bilingual schools, as are parochial schools and even week-end ethnic schools.

Bilingual situations of entirely different patterns have unwittingly been grouped together under bilingual schools and used as a basis for research on bilingual education. This is partly because the concept of "bilingual school" has been used without qualification to cover such a wide range of uses of two languages in education. The term "bilingual school" means many things, even within the same country, and in any discussion is likely to mean different things to different persons. It cannot therefore, in its present denotation, be taken as an object for research.

Since we are faced with various combinations of various factors, any single definition of bilingual schooling would be either too wide or too narrow to be of any use in planning and research, for what is true for one combination of factors may be untrue for another. And since the causes and effects of bilingual schooling are to be found outside the school, it is important to take these into consideration. What is needed, therefore, is not another definition of bilingual schooling or bilingual education but a classification of the field to account for all possible types -- in other words, a typology.

Since bilingual education contains so many variables, a systematic classification of them in the form of a typology could be of help in designing experiments and in talking about bilingual education; it could contribute to the systematization of bilingual school programs and suggest ways of coordinating research and development in this expanding area of enquiry. As a preliminary to any typology, it is necessary to determine how much it will take into account.

Since the terms "bilingual education" and "bilingual school" are used to cover a wide range of different cases, it will be advantageous to have the widest possible inclusion. Otherwise we would have more use for definitions than for a typology. Instead of trying to change any current usage, we shall simply adopt the most inclusive. This will enable us to classify cases ranging from the unilingual education of bilingual children in unilingual communities to the bilingual education of unilingual children in bilingual communities. It will make it possible to include schools where some or all subjects are in the other language. It is necessary to isolate and classify all types of bilingual education before measuring their components. This is preliminary to any research.

In order to be of use to researchers, such a typology has to be entirely objective and based on criteria that are observable and quantifiable. Such criteria may be found in the pattern of distribution of languages in (1) the behavior of the bilingual at home, (2) the curriculum in the school, (3) the community of the immediate area within the nation, and (4) in the status of the languages themselves. In other words, bilingual education is a phenomenon in four dimensions. Let us take a look at the first.

1. THE LEARNER IN THE HOME

If we study the language behavior of the learner at home, in relation to the language requirements of his school, we find that, classified according to language usage, there are five types of learner.

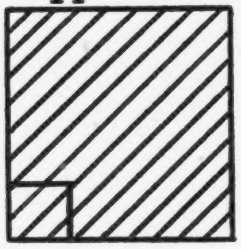
A learner who speaks only one language at home and the same language in school, even though it may not be the language of the community, is in quite a different position from that of the learner who uses two languages at home and the same two at school.

Without going into the degree of language proficiency, which will be accounted for below, we may divide our five types into two categories: those covering learners from unilingual homes (U) and those from bilingual homes (B). In each category, there are the cases where one home language is used as a school language (+S) and those where no home language is used as a school language (-S); in the bilingual category there are the cases where both home languages are used as school languages (+SS). This gives us our five types of learner:

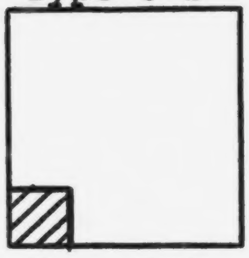
1. Unilingual home: language is school language (U+S).
2. Unilingual home: language is not school language (U-S).
3. Bilingual home: languages include one school language (B+S).
4. Bilingual home: languages exclude school languages (B-S).
5. Bilingual home: languages include both school languages (B+SS).

If we use a small square for the home a larger one for the school and shading for the languages, we may visualize the types thus:

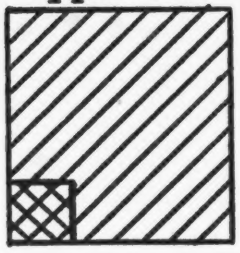
Type U+S



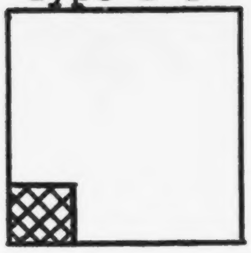
Type U-S



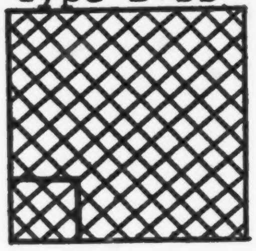
Type B+S



Type B-S



Type B+SS



2. THE CURRICULUM IN THE SCHOOL

Belonging to any one of these five types, each learner, with his acquired language habits, ranging anywhere from complete unilingualism in one language to complete unilingualism in the other, enters a school where the importance and uses of the languages may not correspond to what they are at home. His place on the scale of bilingual usage -- the ratio of his use of his two languages -- is likely to be different from that of the school. Only at the extreme ends of the scale, the unilingual school for the corresponding unilingual learner (U+S), are the two points likely to correspond exactly.

In all other cases there is no guarantee that the ratio of bilingualism in the entering language behavior of the learner will correspond to the linguistic assumptions of a bilingual curriculum. For the curriculum patterns of bilingual schools vary as to (1) medium of instruction, (2) development, (3) distribution, (4) direction, and (5) change.

(1) The medium of instruction may be one language, two languages, or more; in other words, the school may have a single medium (S) or a dual medium (D) curriculum. (2) The development pattern may be one of maintenance (M) of two or more languages, or of transfer (T) from one medium of instruction to another. (3) The distribution of the languages may be different (D) or equal and the same (E). (4) The direction may be toward assimilation into a dominant culture, toward acculturation (A), or toward integration into a resurgent one, that is, toward irredentism (I). Or it may be neither one nor the other, but simply the maintenance of the languages at an equal level. In this case, the languages may be equal but different (D), or equal and equivalent (E). (5) Finally, the change from one medium to another may be complete (C) or gradual (G).

2.1 MEDIUM: SINGLE OR DUAL

Schools may be classified according to the languages used to convey knowledge, in contradistinction to the languages taught as subjects. Knowledge may be conveyed in one language, in two or more.

2.1.1 Single-Medium Schools (S)

Single-medium schools are bilingual insofar as they serve children whose home language is different from the school language, the area language, or the national language. This may be the only language used for all subjects at all times.

2.1.2 Dual-Medium Schools (D)

In contradistinction to the type of school using a single medium of instruction are those which use two media -- both the home and the second language, as the case may be, to convey knowledge. These are the dual-medium schools. Some subjects are taught in one language, some in the other language. In parts of Wales, history, geography, literature, and the fine arts are taught in Welsh; mathematics, social studies, biology, and other sciences are taught in English. Dual-medium schools vary not only in what is taught but also in how much. It is thus that they may be distinguished and classified. They can be compared quantitatively by measuring the amount of time devoted to the use of each language.

So far, we have made only a static or synchronic distinction between bilingual schools -- single-medium and dual-medium schools. But since education is progressive by its nature, these distinctions must also be viewed developmentally, that is, on a time scale.

2.2 DEVELOPMENT: TRANSFER OR MAINTENANCE

If we examine bilingual schools on the time scale, that is, from the point of view of the distribution of the languages from the first to the last year of the school's programme -- or a section of it -- we find two patterns: the transfer pattern and the maintenance pattern, both applying to single and dual-medium schools.

	Development	Transfer	Maintenance
Medium	Single		
	Dual		

2.2.1 Transfer (T)

The transfer pattern has been used to convert from one medium of instruction to another. For example, in some nationality schools in the Soviet Union a child may start all his instruction in his home language, perhaps that of an autonomous Soviet republic, and gradually end up taking all his instruction in the language of the Soviet Union. In schools of this type, the transfer may be gradual or abrupt, regular or irregular, the degree of regularity and gradualness being available as to distinguish one school from another.

2.2.2 Maintenance (M)

Contrariwise, the object of the bilingual school may be to maintain both languages at an equal level. This is often the pattern when both are languages of wider communication or are subject to legal provisions in the constitution which oblige schools to put both languages on an equal footing. The maintenance may be done by differentiation or by equalization.

2.3 DIRECTION: ACCULTURATION OR IRREDENTISM (A-I)

The direction taken by the curriculum may be twoard the language of wider culture, toward acculturation; or toward that of the regional, national, or neo-national culture -- the direction of irredentism.

2.4. DISTRIBUTION: DIFFERENT OR EQUAL (D-E)

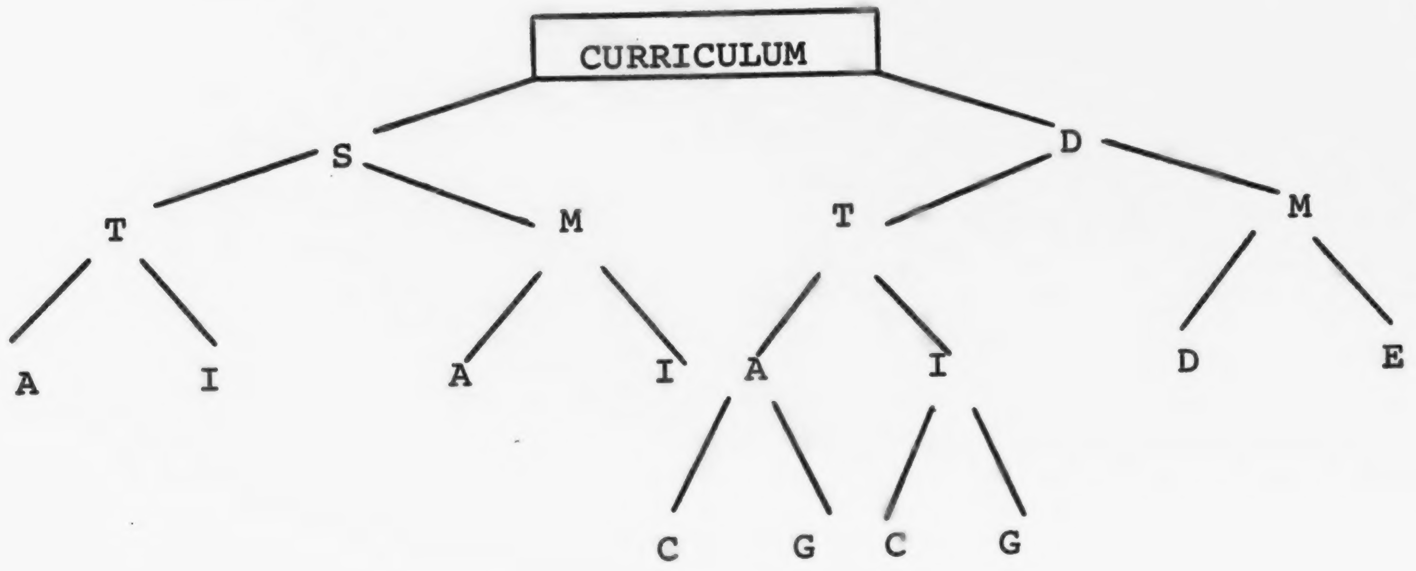
The subjects in the curriculum may be distributed differently, using different subjects for each, or equally alternating or repeating the instruction from one language to the other.

2.5 CHANGE: COMPLETE OR GRADUAL (C-G)

The change in direction or distribution may be complete and abrupt -- using, for instance, one language one year and the other language the next -- or gradual -- adding more and more instruction in the other language.

2.6 CURRICULUM PATTERNS

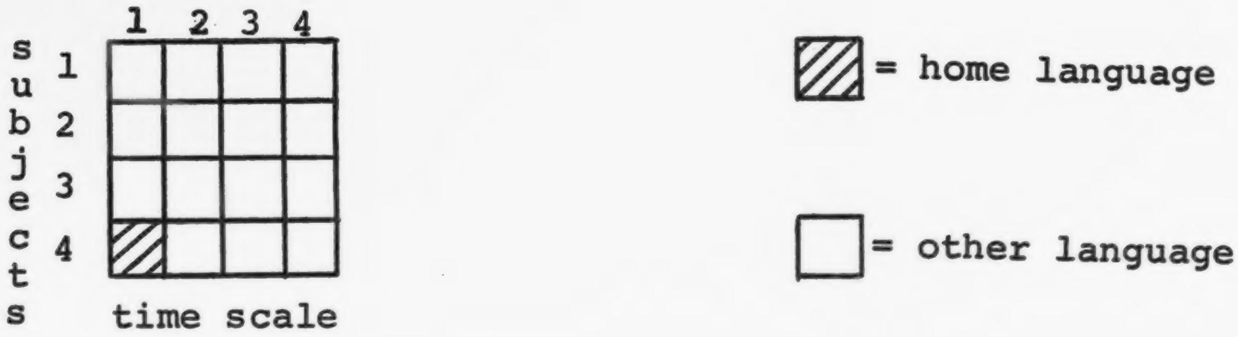
The interplay of these basic distinctions generates a limited number of possible patterns, as illustrated in the following figure:



The distinctions between single (S) and dual (D) medium schools, accultural (A) and irredental (I) transfer (T) and maintenance (M) and complete (C) and gradual (G) change generate ten possible types of curriculum patterns. These are: SAT, SAM, SIT, SIM, DAT(C), DAT(G), DIT(C), DIT(G), DDM and DEM. Let us see what each of these involves.

What is patterned in bilingual schooling is the use of two or more languages; one, all, or neither of which may be native to the learner and have a certain degree of dominance in his home environment. Any of the five types of home-school language relationship described above may enter the curriculum patterns described below. To represent these we shall take the home where the language used may or may not be the school language or one of the school languages.

The curriculum, made up of subjects (vertical columns) and time units in which they are taught (horizontal columns) will be symbolized in a grid:

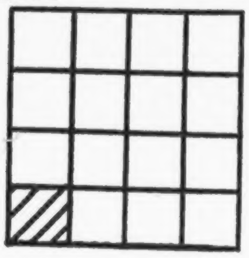


The home is placed beside the school, covering the lower left corner of the grid.

6.1 Type SAT (Single-Medium Accultural Transfer)

This type may transfer the language of learning from that of the home to that of the school. It may be completely accultural in that it takes no account of the language of the home. This type of single-medium acculturation is common among schools attended by the children of immigrants; for example, the English medium schools of Italian immigrants in the United States.

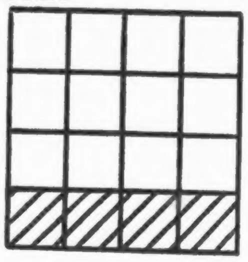
SAT



6.2 Type SAM (Single-Medium Accultural Maintenance)

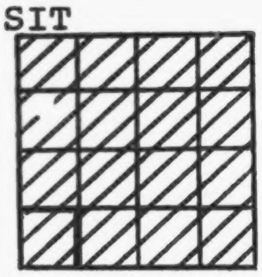
In some cases, as in the bilingual schools of certain parts of Canada, the home language or dominant home language is taught as a subject, without however being used as a medium of instruction. The maintenance of the home language as a subject may be the avowed purpose, as in the English-medium schools for French-Canadians in Western Canada.

SAM



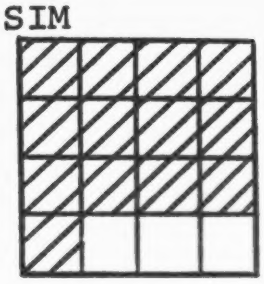
6.3 Type SIT (Single-Medium Irredental Transfer)

The converse also goes by the name of bilingual schooling. Here the home or dominant home language is used as a medium. Examples of this may be found in the multiple cases of language transfer, along the borderlands of Europe, resulting from the reconquest of territory. Witness, for example, the history of transfer of languages of instruction along the frontiers of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.



6.4 Type SIM (Single-Medium Irredental Maintenance)

In some schools the dominant or formerly dominant national language is maintained as a school subject, as is the case of English in certain Gaelic schools of the West of Ireland.

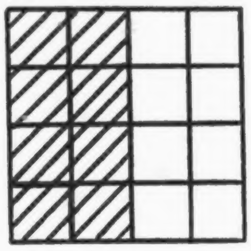


The common characteristic of all these single-medium schools is that only one language is used to transmit knowledge -- a single language is used as a medium of instruction in all school subjects, although another language may be taught as a school subject, as it is in unilingual schools. For this reason we call these bilingual schools single-medium schools.

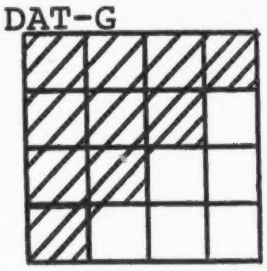
6.5 Type DAT (Dual-Medium Accultural Transfer)

This type which, for obvious reasons of power and prestige is a common type, prepares children to take the rest of their education in a language or a dialect which is not dominant in the home -- often a language of wider communication. Many of the schools in the emerging nations were, before they emerged, of this type. English in Africa was sometimes used after the third year. In other parts of Africa it was gradually introduced from the first year.

DAT-C



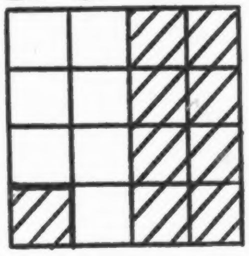
DAT-G



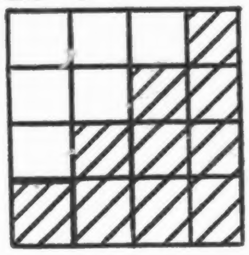
6.6 Type DIT (Dual-Medium Irredental Transfer)

Conversely, in areas long dominated by a foreign language, the medium of instruction may revert to the language of the home, the foreign language being kept as a subject. Early Arabization of schooling in the Sudan illustrates this type.

DIT-C



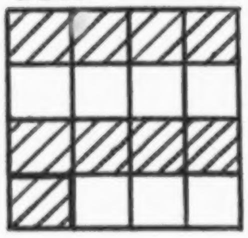
DIT-G



6.7 Type DDM (Dual-Medium Differential Maintenance)

In maintaining two languages for different purposes, the difference may be established by subject-matter, according to the likely contribution of each culture. Often the culture-based subjects like art, history, literature, and geography are in the dominant home language. Bilingual schools in certain parts of Wales are of this type.

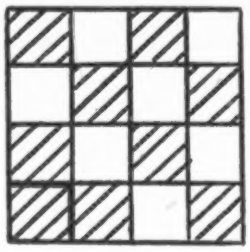
DDM



6.8 Type DEM (Dual Medium Equal Maintenance)

In some schools, as those found in certain parts of Belgium, South Africa and Canada, it has been necessary -- often for political reasons -- not to distinguish between languages and to give an equal chance to both languages in all domains. This is done by alternating on the time scale -- day, week, month, or year -- from one language to the other.

DEM



We have seen that, from the point of view of patterning, the curriculum of bilingual schools can be distinguished between single and dual-medium schools, each following transfer or maintenance patterns -- transfer being accultural or irredental, maintenance based on differentiation or equalization.

These patterns may remain stable or evolve, slowly or rapidly, along with changes in pressures and policies. If, for example, one studies the changes in the laws of Louisiana during the past century, one notices several changes in approved patterns of bilingual schooling. The law of 1839 assumes the existence of both French and English single-medium schools. The constitution of 1879 authorizes that all subjects be given in both languages (Article 226). Whereas the 1898 constitution authorizes the teaching of French only as a subject (Article 251). In the constitution of 1921 all allusion to French disappears. Recent cultural accords between Louisiana and Quebec again encourage the use of French in instruction.

It is necessary, however, to distinguish between the patterns of language education used in a community and their avowed purposes. For example, a community may have language maintenance as its purpose, but be saddled with a transfer-type curriculum.

3. THE COMMUNITY IN THE NATION

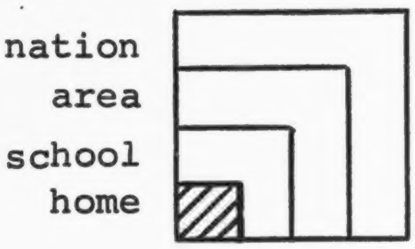
Any one of these ten types of curriculum patterns (SAT, SAM, SIT, SIM, DAT-C, DIT-G, DDM, DEM), may function in a number of different types of language areas and national states.

It makes a great difference whether one of the languages used in school is that of the surrounding community, or that of the wider community. The home and community contexts in which the language is used must be taken into consideration if the language is to be used in school, since it is on the assumption of usage and consequent knowledge that the teaching is based. There is a difference, for example, in using English as a medium of instruction in one of the special language schools of Kiev and using it as a medium of instruction in the Ukrainian bilingual schools outside Edmonton.

The following are the possibilities of area and national contextual settings in which the above curriculum patterns may appear.

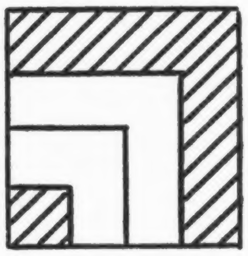
The school may be located in a place where the language of both the area and the national language is not that of the home.

1



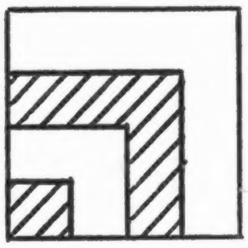
It may be in a country where the language of the home but not that of the area is the national tongue.

2



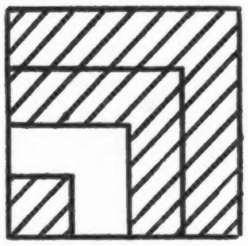
Conversely, the language of the area and not of the nation may be that of the home.

3



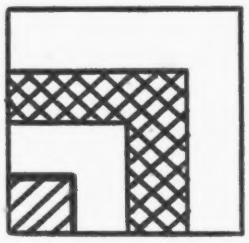
Both area and national language may be that of the home.

4



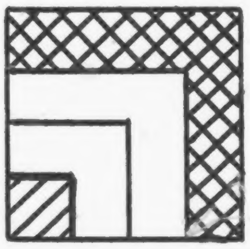
The national language may not be that of the home but the area may be bilingual with both the home and national languages being used.

5



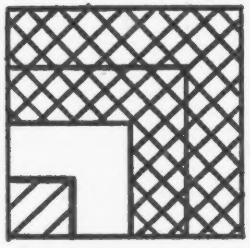
Conversely, the country may be bilingual and the area unilingual.

6



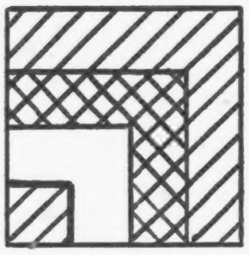
Both the area and the country may be bilingual.

7



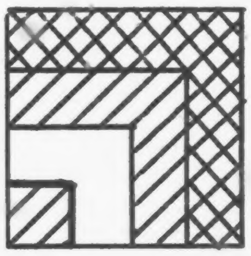
The area may be bilingual and the national language may be that of the home.

8



Finally, the country may be bilingual and the area language that of the home.

9



The typology so far elaborated has been based on variations in language patterning in the usage of the nation, the area, and the school. But much depends on which languages are used and what sort.

Certain languages may be worth maintaining regardless of the community. If Spanish and French, for example, are regarded as legitimate specialities for the unilingual, why should they not also be for the bilingual whose other language is one of these? On the other hand, the language may not lead far, even though the probability of community maintenance may be high.

If each of these nine contexts can absorb each of the ten types of curriculum patterns, then there are ninety basically different patterns of bilingual schooling, giving us the typology which appears in the appended figure. Each of these ninety patterns may absorb one or more of the five home-school categories. If we eliminate mutually exclusive combinations, this leaves some 250 integrated types, ranging from (U-s) SAT1 to (B+SS) DEM 9.

This should permit us to plan for the elaboration of objective distinctions between bilingual education and bilingual schooling. For example, a bilingual classroom with a DAT curriculum pattern may contain learners with different patterns of bilingual education, depending on the category of relationship with the home language. All five types may find themselves in the same classroom, all doing the same thing. Whether it is wise to put them in the same class is another question; but it cannot be answered until something is known about the different home language behavior patterns of the learners. What type of curriculum pattern is suitable for which type of bilingual is a question yet to be resolved.

A number of these curriculum patterns may be in operation within the same school system, in the same area, or in the same country. Which type of curriculum is most appropriate for which type of area is another question.

Before any of these questions can be answered with any degree of certainty some means must be found of quantifying the variables within each type. A-l that the typology can do at present is to enable us to distinguish one bilingual educational situation from another in order to observe both of them systematically. But within each type there may be quantitative variations. The DAT type, for example, indicates that some school subjects are taught in one language and some in another; it does not tell us which ones or how many. It is only by using the typology to obtain a more detailed profile of each program of bilingual schooling that it will be possible to find out exactly what is going on in any area in the field of bilingual education as compared with what may be going on some place else. This is what has been attempted in the appended questionnaire, designed as it is to pattern descriptions of bilingual schooling into the typology for purposes of study and comparison.

The greatest problem of pattern quantification, however, remains in the fourth area -- that of the contact between the languages themselves.

4. THE LANGUAGES IN THE PATTERN

The component common to all types at all levels is language. In fact, the entire typology may be viewed as a series of patterns of distribution of two or more languages in the education of the learner, within the home, the school, the area, and the nation.

This common component is itself a variable. So that each language appears in each pattern at a certain degree of intensity. Any planning or research design has to take this into account in trying to fit persons into the right patterns. For it makes a difference whether or not a child's proficiency in one or more languages is on a par with that of the rest of the class, and whether the level of proficiency is sufficient for the language to be used as a medium of instruction.

In order to understand the nature of the language variable in bilingual education it is important to make a distinction between the function of the languages, their status, and the linguistic and cultural differences between them.

4.1 THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LANGUAGES

The languages involved in bilingual education may have different functions in the home, in the school, and in the country.

4.1.1 Languages in the Home

The learner brings to the school a pattern of language behavior and a configuration of language dominance. It is not only a question of which language is involved, but to what extent.

There is a wide range of possible variation in the competence of the learner in each of his languages. Each language may be of a standard acceptable for unilingual education, or only one may be acceptable to a unilingual teacher, or neither may be comparable in degree to the language proficiency of unilingual speakers.

To study what happens to this entering behavior under the influence of bilingual schooling, standardized screening instruments are needed -- both wide-mesh and fine-mesh. We need easily used and validated wide-mesh screens for quantitative analysis of bilingual population samples. We need fine-mesh screens for small laboratory-type studies and depth analysis of individual cases. There is need for the application of language proficiency measures suitable for bilingual children.

But the child's proficiency may be limited in some domains and extensive in others, depending on his pattern of language behavior outside the school; he may, for instance, speak about certain things in one language to his father and about others in another language to his mother and her relatives. There is need therefore for simple scales to measure the degree of dominance in each of the child's domains.

If the child comes from a home where two or more languages are used, he may find it difficult to separate them. The extent and degree of language mixture may vary considerably from one bilingual child to the next, and from one domain to another. Tests will be needed to show how well a bilingual child keeps his languages apart.

4.1.2 Languages in the School

The language component also varies within the school -- in the curr-culum and in inter-pupil communication.

It is first important to determine the sort and amount of both languages used in the classroom. Two identical curriculum patterns may vary in the proportion of time devoted to each language; this is measurable by simple computation. But they may also vary in the domains in which each language is used. In one curriculum the second language may be used for history and geography; in the other, it may be used for science and mathematics. In practice, each curriculum pattern would have to be quantified for each language in terms of proportion and domain of use. (See appended questionnaire.)

What is the language of the playground and of the street? In inter-pupil communication, it makes a difference how many of the other learners speak the language or languages of the child, and to what extent. It also makes a difference whether or not the child uses the same language at play as he does in school or at home. Some simple measure of the use of the language or languages in the immediate context of the learner's activity would be a help in planning for bilingual education.

4.1.3 Languages in the Community

The extent to which the language or languages of the school may be used in the area in which it is located is an important variable in the language education of the child. Some measurement of this is pre-requisite to any planning or research into bilingual education.

The role that each language plays in the nation is also of importance. It makes a difference whether both or only one of the languages is rated as official or national. The legal status of a language may be limited to a juridical subdivision of the nation. Both the proportion of the population using each language and its distribution throughout the nation may have some influence on the curriculum pattern selected. So will the international status of the languages and the distance between them.

4.2 THE STATUS OF THE LANGUAGES

If the languages involved are languages of wider communication, like Spanish and French, the bilingual situation is bound to be different from those involving local languages like Navajo. It is also important to find out the extent to which each language is dynamic or recessive, concentrated or diffuse, both at the international, national or regional level.

4.2.1 International Status

In order to determine the international status of a modern language as one factor in planning the curriculum, languages in a bilingual school may be rated according to five indices:

1. Degree of standardization.
2. Demographic Index: Population figures.
3. Economic Index: Population/Gross national product.
4. Distributional Index: Number and spread of areas in which the language is spoken.
5. Cultural Index: Annual production of printed matter/Cumulative production.

4.2.2 National or Regional Status

The dialects of the languages used may differ in the extent to which each deviates from the norm or norms that may have been established for them. If two international languages are used as instructional media, the dialect version of one may differ little from the standard speech comprehensible anywhere the language is used. The other language, however, may be available in the area only in a local sub-standard variety. And this variety may not be the same, either as the one used in the home, the school or the nation. The Alemanic home dialects of German Switzerland, for example, are far removed from the sort of Standard German taught in Swiss schools.

4.3 THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LANGUAGES

The rapidity with which a learner is likely to understand another language, used to teach him school subjects, depends on the degree of difference or distance between both languages. Because of the close relationship between Portuguese and Spanish, a learner whose mother tongue is Portuguese may take less time to learn to understand instruction given in Spanish than instruction given in more distant languages like English or Chinese.

This same similarity, which facilitates understanding (listening and reading) may be the cause of multiple mistakes in speaking and writing -- due to the interference caused by the closeness of both languages. We need measures of the closeness and mutual inte-ligibility of the languages involved in bilingual instruction and means of predicting the effects of these languages on the comprehension and expression of the bilingual learner.

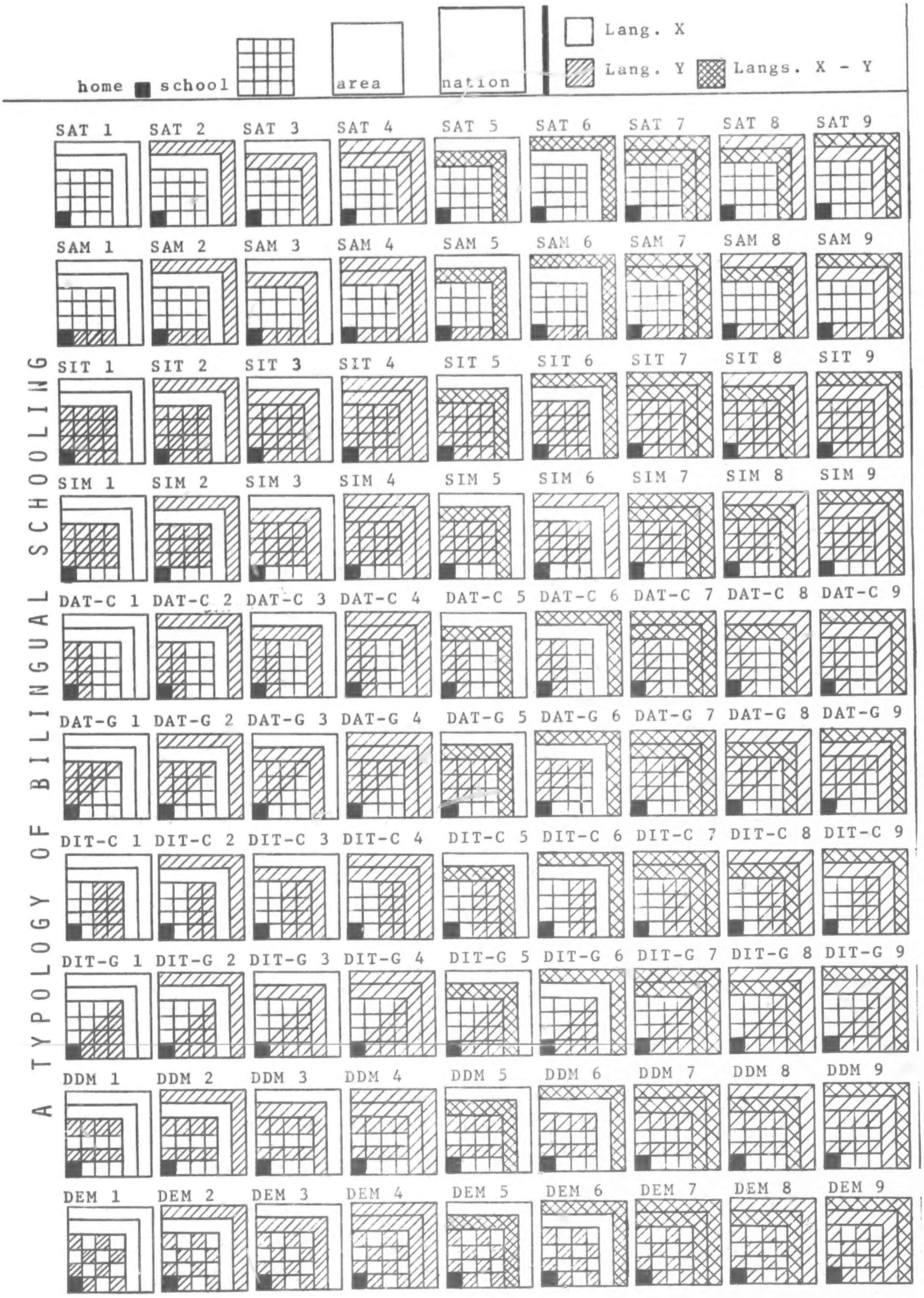
Regardless of similarities and differences in structure and vocabulary, the two languages may differ considerably in available cultural concepts. For example, Hungarian is genetically as distant from English as is Eskimo; but it is culturally closer, since both English and Hungarian embody many common European cultural concepts, which can be assumed as a basis for bilingual education. Before making use of this variable in research into bilingual education, however, it would be most useful to determine some way of quantifying it.

CONCLUSION

Once we have reduced our language variables to appropriate measures within the various types of bilingual education, it will be easier to analyse and classify specific cases.

It is only after we have taken all the variables into account and applied appropriate measures of them that we can achieve any degree of certainty in our planning in this important and complex field. Toward this end it is hoped that this preliminary typology may be of some help.

A TYPOLOGY OF BILINGUAL SCHOOLING


home
school
area
nation
Lang. X
Lang. Y
Langs. X - Y
SAT 1
SAT 2
SAT 3
SAT 4
SAT 5
SAT 6
SAT 7
SAT 8
SAT 9
SAM 1
SAM 2
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SAM 4
SAM 5
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SAM 7
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DAT-C 1
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DAT-G 1
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DIT-G 1
DIT-G 2
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DIT-G 7
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DDM 1
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DDM 6
DDM 7
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DEM 5
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DEM 7
DEM 8
DEM 9

CHILDREN'S SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING IN A NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

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1969

Many of us can recount experiences of how children living abroad learned to communicate effectively in another language. In many instances, this learning process, which is so painstaking for adults to duplicate, is achieved in a seemingly effortless fashion. Furthermore, becoming bilingual early in life can be an amazingly rapid accomplishment, aptly characterized by Werner Leopold who states that in children's language learning, bilingualism "can be observed in a nascent state, with the detail of a slow-motion picture and the speed of a fast motion picture."[1] By using techniques similar to those employed in native-language research where periodic analyses are made of the child's performance, we would expect to gain valuable insight into the random, yet highly accelerated process of becoming bilingual. Of course, we must recognize differences in first- and second-language learning: on the one hand, the very young child is totally unfamiliar with the phenomenon of language, and on the other, the older child already has his native language, a complex set of linguistic symbols which he may use to convey his thoughts even though they are now being expressed in a non-native setting. The object of our investigation in Spain during a two-year period was to study systematically the process of becoming bilingual in a non-formal situation.

RESEARCH DESIGN

In the interest of developing sound research techniques, we conducted a pilot study on one child during the first year. We chose as our subject our own son, who was four years, one month old when the family arrived in Madrid. So that we could maintain an accurate record of all speech samples for verification and discussion, we used only the data which we were able to record. The subject's speech was recorded twenty times for about thirty to forty minutes each session over a period of nine months, in a variety of stimulus situations: (1) with Spanish peers, ages 4 to 8, in supervised and unsupervised play both inside the home and outside; (2) with Spanish-speaking friends of parents; and (3) with a monolingual Spanish research assistant trained to elicit conversation by means of drawings, storytelling, and especially-structured questions. It was extremely important, and at times difficult, to convey to the interviewer that he should not try to teach the child Spanish, but should aim to elicit language samples from him which were representative of his linguistic competence at a particular time. In order to encourage him to speak spontaneously, a Vega transmitting microphone was placed around the child's body, allowing him to move around unencumbered by wires. The utterances he produced were picked up by a Vega radio receiver placed in another room and recorded on a tape recorder connected by means of a patch cord. Our pilot study, which was continued during the second year, served as an important methodological testing ground for the next phase of our research.

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[1] Werner F. Leopold, "Patterning in Children's Language Learning," in Sol Saporta, Ed., Psycholinguistics: A Book of Readings (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, c. 1961), p. 358.

Our group study during the second year was to provide data which represented significantly the second-language-learning behavior of a particular age level. We chose six children between the ages of 5 1/2 and 6 1/2 because we wanted subjects who: (1) had reached the point where they had mastered the basic rudiments of their native language -- i.e., most of the phonemic contrasts, morphological endings, and major sentence patterns; and (2) were not too old so that they would be influenced by the formal school situation and the written language. Our search for suitable subjects was at times discouraging, particularly since we tried to control certain variables like IQ, verbal ability, absence of speech defects, and socioeconomic and educational background. We also attempted to find subjects with no previous knowledge of Spanish whose parents were motivated to have their children exposed maximally to the new language and culture during their stay in Madrid. All subjects arrived in Spain at approximately the same time with no previous knowledge of Spanish. Through the regular use of questionnaires accompanying each recording session, it was estimated that each child spent approximately 20-25 hours per week communicating in Spanish, and as much as 30-35 additional hours listening to the language with varying degrees of interest and comprehension.

We had learned from our first year's experience that unsupervised play inside or outside the home was not very productive for recording speech, so all recordings of the six-year-olds were made either with peers in supervised play situations inside the home, or with a Spanish-speaking interlocutor conducting a structured interview. In all recording sessions, the principal investigator or the research associate took careful written notes on the verbal and non-verbal aspects of the situation. Over a ten-month period 20 to 24 recordings were made of each child, averaging about one every two weeks for approximately 30 minutes each to give us a total of about 10 hours for each child.

Transcriptions were made of the recordings with the help of the assistant who interviewed the subject. These transcriptions, together with our notes, helped considerably in the understanding of the utterances produced by the subject and by all other participants in the recording session. The transcriptions were then checked with the recordings and refined by the principal investigator. Although our primary concern was with syntactic structures, some attention was given to phonemic development. Transcriptions were generally made in conventional orthography except where mispronounced utterances could be described only by phonetic notation.

The following samples of recordings taken from Michael, our pilot subject, during his first year in Madrid show his progress in developing ability to communicate in Spanish. For the purpose of this demonstration, only brief comments will be made on each of these recordings.

Sampling A (December 20, 1964):

(During the first months, Michael's difficulty in expressing himself often resulted in aggressive behavior. Here, he wanted his friend Francisco to stay and play with him. Notice the absence of any verb.)

M.	No, Francisco.	M.	No, Francisco.
F.	Pues me voy a ir de tu casa y no vengo más.	F.	Then I'm going to my house and I'm not coming again.
M.	No no no no no no no Francisco, Francisco, Francisco, Francisco.	M.	No no no no no no no Francisco, Francisco, Francisco, Francisco.
F.	Que me voy.	F.	I'm going.
M.	No, no, Francisco.	M.	No, no, Francisco.
F.	¿Es que no me puedo ir?	F.	Can't I go?
M.	No, Francisco...tu no casa...tu casa esa ahi...mira... no Francisco.	M.	No, Francisco...you no home...your home is here...look... no Francisco.

Sampling B (February 16, 1965):

(Michael shows some facility to manipulate the elements of a sentence. Notice the imperative *diga*, which he used at this time along with others like *mira* and *espera*.)

M.	Diga este. Sombrero.	M.	Say this. Sombrero.
F.	No éste.	F.	Not this one.
M.	Diga sombrero.	M.	Say sombrero.
F.	Sombrero.	F.	Sombrero.
M.	Diga la la cama.	M.	Say the the bed. (for: to bed)
F.	A la cama.	F.	To bed.
M.	Diga papel entra de aquí.	M.	Say paper, into (this microphone) here.
F.	Papel.	F.	Paper.
M.	Diga chaqueta.	M.	Say jacket.
F.	Chaqueta.	F.	Jacket.
M.	Diga....	M.	Say....

Sampling C (March 10, 1965):

(For the first time, we observe Michael's use of the pronoun *yo*, and his ability to delete it. We cannot at this point fully determine Michael's ability to use direct object pronouns. Observe the code-switching when Michael asks his father a question in English, and then translates the reply into Spanish for his friends.)

M. Yo soy Cheyenne.	M. I am Cheyenne.
María. Cheyenne.	María. Cheyenne.
M. Soy Cheyenne.	M. I am Cheyenne.
F. Soy el amigo de Cheyenne.	F. I am Cheyenne's friend.
María. Que no, que a eso no jugamos. Yo me voy a mi casa. Adiós. Vamos a ver la tele.	María. No, we are not playing that. I'm going home. Good-bye. We're going to watch TV.
M. Hey Dad, is television on?	M. Hey Dad, is television on?
Dad. In a little while.	Dad. In a little while.
M. En un poquito. Un momento está televisión. Ahora no hay televisión.	M. In a little while. In a moment there'll be television. Now there is no television.

Sampling D (March 22, 1965):

(Michael is narrating a story about the dragon and the cowardly knight that he saw in a movie, but is still unable to produce long sentences acceptably. Enrique, a sixteen-year-old interlocutor, constantly corrects Michael's mistakes in gender. Observe the use of the imperfect tense form *era*, of imperatives like *ven* and *mira*, and of the infinitive in place of a relative clause.)

M.	Sí, ya un dragón, un dragón. Una vez, un dos...dos señores, uno comballo...y dice la gragón está en tu casa.	M.	Yes, a dragon, a dragon. Once, one, two...two men, a horse...and he says the dragon is in your house.
E.	El dragón está en tu casa.	E.	The dragon is in your house.
M.	El dragón está en tu casa.... ¿qué es esto entrar ahí?	M.	The dragon is in your house.... what is this, to come (coming) in here?
E.	Sí, sí, sí.	E.	Yes, yes yes.
M.	Pero la dragón....	M.	But the dragon....
E.	El dragón.	E.	The dragon.
M.	Sí, pero...mira... echa así, echa esto.	M.	Yes, but...look ...he throws that like this, he throws this.
E.	Llamas, each lumbre.	E.	Flames, he throws fire.
M.	No, echa arume, y ...dragón se come, se come, se come, y ven, ven, mira ...y era así...un ...la soldao está en la caballo.	M.	No, he throws fire and...the dragon is eating, is eating, is eating, and come, come, look...and it was like this...a... the soldier is on the horse.
E.	El caballo.	E.	The horse.

Sampling E (March 26, 1965):

(In this sampling, Michael continues to use verb inflections incorrectly, but demonstrates the deliberate application of a rule in the sentence, "Yo pinta...yo pinte...pinto un avión." Although he corrects himself here, he later makes the same mistake again. The use of sabes with yo occurs often, as when Michael is asked, "¿Tu sabes?" and he answers, "No sabes," repeating the form used by the interlocutor.)

E.	Y ahora vamos a pintar aquí.	E.	Now, let's paint here.
M.	Yo pintar otra.	M.	I paint another one.
E.	Esto, ¿qué es?	E.	What's this?
M.	Los élboles (for: 'árboles').	M.	The trees.
E.	No, eso...las montañas.	E.	No, that...the mountains.
M.	Las montañas.	M.	The mountains.
E.	Eso.	E.	That.
M.	Yo pinta...yo pinte...pinto un avión.	M.	I paint...I paint ...paint an airplane.
E.	Venga un avión.	E.	OK, an airplane.
M.	Yo sabes un avión.	M.	I know (how to draw) an airplane.
E.	Mira, un avión, un avión.	E.	Look, an airplane, an airplane.
M.	No, yo pinta un avión...yo...yo...	M.	No, I paint an airplane...I...I...

Sampling F (April 27, 1965):

(Enrique continues to correct Michael's mistakes in gender.)

E.	Esto, ¿qué es?	E.	What is this?
M.	Un cabeza.	M.	A head.
E.	Una.	E.	A.
M.	Una cabeza.	M.	A head.
E.	Eso, muy bien, macho...y ahora esto.	E.	So, very well, good boy...and now this.
M.	La...la...los....	M.	The...the...the....
E.	Las....	E.	The....
M.	Las....	M.	The....
E.	O....	E.	(Cue for orejas: 'ears')
M.	O...orejas.	M.	Ears.
E.	Eso...¿esto?	E.	Good...this?
M.	La nariz.	M.	The nose.
E.	Bien...¿esto?	E.	Good...this?
M.	Los ojos.	M.	The eyes.
E.	¿Esto?	E.	This?
M.	El boca.	M.	The mouth.
E.	La.	E.	The.
M.	La boca.	M.	The mouth.

(Enrique now gives Michael a long lecture on when to use masculine and feminine gender, using several examples. Finally, he says:)

E.	O sea, así ya lo sabes, eso, ¿qué es?	E.	Then you know it now, what it is? How does it go?
M.	Un niña, un chica, y un señora.	M.	A little girl, a girl, and a lady.

Sampling G (November 30, 1965):

(Less than a year after his arrival in Madrid, Michael demonstrates the ability to comprehend and produce highly complex utterances permitting him to participate in the discussion of serious topics. In this recording we can observe the subject's use of direct, indirect and reflexive pronouns, as well as preterite and imperfect tenses of both regular and irregular verbs. We can also see how the interlocutor employs skillful interviewing techniques by the utterances he elicits from the child.)

A.	He estado hablando con tu padre, ¿sabes? Y me ha dicho que tú sabías quién era Dios.... ¿Tú lo sabes? Pues, ala, explícame. Dime quién es Dios.	A.	I have been talking with your father and, you know, he told me that you know who God is. Do you know it? Well, then tell me, explain. Tell me who God is.
M.	Dios es él que da la comida.	M.	God is the one who gives food.
A.	Bien. Muy bien, ¿y qué más? ¿Qué mas da Dios?	A.	Good. Very good, and what else? What else does God give us?
M.	Pues...pues, el que cura, curarlos.	M.	Well, well, he cures them, cures them....
A.	¿A quiénes cura?	A.	Whom does he cure?
M.	A...a tí...a todos todos....	M.	You, everyone....
A.	A todos los que están...?	A.	Everyone who is...?
M.	En el gundo.	M.	In the world.

A. En el mundo, pero ¿qué les pasa?, ¿qué?	A. In the world, but what happens to them, what?
M. Que les pasa que tiene un...un resfrío.	M. What happens is that they have a...a cold.
A. Exactamente. Que es ...vamos...es decir: que están enfermos, ¿verdad?	A. Exactly. That is, let's see, they are sick, right?
M. Sí.	M. Yes.
A. Porque lo mismo cura a los que tienen un resfrío...	A. Because he cures those that have a cold...
M. Sí.	M. Yes.
A. ...que a los que les duele la cabeza, ¿no?	A. ...as well as those that have a headache, no?
M. Sí.	M. Yes.
A. ...que a los que tienen una herida en la rodilla, que se han caído y se han hecho pupa.	A. ...or those that have a scraped knee, who have fallen and hurt themselves.
M. ¡Oh! pues...a los que tienen que sacar las hormigas.... o eso.	M. Oh! Well, or they have had their tonsils out, or that....
A. ¿Le tienen...?	A. They have to...?
M. O les duele la c ...el oído...¡ay! Eso es lo que me pasó a mí y me tuvieron que sacar las hormigas....	M. Or they have an ear ache, oh! That's what happened to me and they had to take my tonsils out....
A. Las amigdalas, verdad?	A. Your tonsils, right?
M. Si. Pues, a mi, no...porque cuando yo estaba dormido....	M. Yes. But I didn't because I was asleep....

A.	¿Estabas dormido?	A.	You were asleep?
M.	Sí, todavía....	M.	Yes, then....
A.	¿Nada, nada?	A.	Nothing at all?
M.	Nada.	M.	Nothing.
A.	No te dolió nada ....Y cuando despertaste, ya te las habían cortado, muy bien. Pero después, sí te dolío, ¿verdad? al comer....	A.	It didn't hurt you at all....and when you woke up, they had already taken them out, very good. But afterwards it did hurt, right? When you ate....
M.	Sí, mucho, mucho.	M.	Yes, very much.
A.	¿Sí?	A.	Yes.
M.	Y no podía comer.	M.	And I couldn't eat.
A.	¿No podías comer?	A.	You couldn't eat?
M.	No podía comer cosas fuertes... porque si no me se...se me salía sangre...en la boca.	M.	I couldn't eat rough things, because if not, I had blood... in the mouth.
A.	¡Ah sí! Y te dolía ....Vaya....Pero, eso, pero leugo, te pasó, ¿no?	A.	Ah, yes! And it hurt, didn't it? Well, but then it went away, didn't it?
M.	Sí.	M.	Yes.
A.	Y entonces, ¿qué comías cuando... cuando no podías comer cosas fuertes?	A.	And then, what did you eat when...when you couldn't eat rough things?
M.	Pero, pero...después el doctor venía pero, tenía que dar muchos pinchazos.	M.	But then the doctor came, but he had to give me many shots.
A.	¡Ah! ¿Te puso?	A.	Ah! Did he?
M.	Pero el doctor Beny...me dijo que puede comer cosas fuertes, pero no patatas....	M.	But Doctor Benny... he said I could eat rough things, but no potatoes.
A.	¿No patatas?	A.	No potatoes?
M.	No, porque son muy, muy....	M.	No, because they're very, very....

A.	Grandes, ¿verdad? Y al pasar por la garganta, te dolía....Oye, y el doctor, ¿cómo era? ¿muy alto?	A.	Very big, right? And when they went down your throat it hurt. And listen, the doctor, how was he? very tall?
M.	Pues tengo dos doctores....	M.	Well, I had two doctors.
A.	Ah...dos doctores....	A.	Ah...two doctors.
M.	Y una...y dos enfermeras.	M.	And one...two nurses.

THE SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

Our research developed with two major objectives in mind: (1) to determine the order of the learning of structures to see if several children learn in a similar fashion, and (2) to provide empirical data concerning the conditions under which linguistic activity was most productive. The first of these objectives relating to the existence of psycholinguistic universals will not be treated here because it will be described in considerable detail in a report to the United States Office of Education. The remainder of this discussion will concentrate on the second of these objectives, and attempt to describe the informal situations in the learning environment.

Aside from the interviews cited above in our samplings and the school program where formal instruction in Spanish was minimal,[2] all other situations to be discussed here were informal and representative of spontaneous conversation. We shall try to account for all environmental factors to which the subjects were exposed, with an estimate of the number of hours spent in each situation along with an evaluation of the motivating effect it had on the learner. Were there specific verbal and non-verbal stimuli that we can assume contributed to effective learning?

The question of motivation was the most difficult to determine. Learning was undoubtedly influenced by such factors as parental attitudes toward the Spanish language and culture; sibling configuration within the family; and personality traits of the subjects themselves, who related with varying degrees of enthusiasm to their peers, the friends of their parents, and to the parents themselves. In an attempt to evaluate each of the learning situations, the following scale was devised:

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[2] Two of the children attended Spanish schools for 5 hours per day, while the others attended schools where the program was mostly in English with about one hour per day in Spanish.

1. Listened and responded with intense involvement.
2. Had moderate interest and some verbal interaction.
3. Produced little verbal response, mostly in answer to questions, but with varying degrees of interest.
4. Showed passive listening with limited interest.
5. Had little or no interest; made no verbal response; showed little comprehension.

LEARNING SITUATIONS IN THE HOME AND COMMUNITY

Situation	Avg. No. Hrs./Wk.[a]					Evaluation
	Subject					
	M	A	B	C	D	
A. Home						
1) Children's friends	7	10	3	-[b]	-	1
2) Maid and other service people	3	-	1	5	14	1
3) TV	14	-	10	14	-	4
4) Radio	3	2	2	2	2	4 - 5
5) Parents' visitors	5	2	2	1	2	1 - 5
6) Interviewer	1	1	1	1	1	1 - 3
7) Telephone	-	1	-	-	-	2
8) Parents	2	1	1	-	-	1 - 5
B. Community						
1) School	5	40[c]	10	5	25	2 - 5
2) Transportation (school bus, taxi, etc.)	10	-	-	5	-	4 - 5
3) Friends	7	-	2	-	-	1
4) Church	1	1	1	-	1	5
5) Shops	2	2	-	-	1	2 - 5
6) Restaurants, cafes	2	1	-	-	1	2 - 5
7) Trips, amusements, vacations	3	5	2	1	-	1 - 5
Total Number of Hours	65	66	35	34	47	

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[a] Figures may overlap. For example, Michael's parents spoke to the children in Spanish only in the presence of Spanish speakers, such as the maid, friends, etc.

[b] Little or no time.

[c] The case of Subject A was unique since this total represents time spent in a school where she had her meals and participated in non-formal activities.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Preliminary findings indicate that children of both ages 6 and 4 learn some linguistic structures in similar ways. With the analysis of more second-language-learning data from subjects of a wide variety of ages (say, from 2 to 15), we can obtain a clearer picture of the process of becoming bilingual. These findings in turn can be compared with those on native-language acquisition, thereby providing us with considerable insight into the cognitive processes of language learning in general.

Aside from the question of universals, our research has more practical implications. A thorough analysis of the natural second-language-learning situations, stated in quantitative as well as qualitative terms, may provide us with valuable information relating to such questions as:

(1.) What situations contribute to effective language learning?

(2.) How does a child become bilingual?

(3.) What is the actual number of contact hours needed?

(4.) What types of data-collecting techniques in second-language research must be developed to approach the rigor of native-language studies done by workers in psycholinguistics?

With some concrete answers to these questions we can carry over some of the features of natural second-language learning into our formal school programs. The present author hypothesizes that in the context envisaged here, the actual teaching of a second language will be less meaningful than simply, but skillfully, making second-language stimuli available to children. Thus, by re-creating the natural environment, we would allow children to process the linguistic input and generate utterances according to their needs, as they do both in first-language acquisition and in the non-formal learning of a second language.

THE PLURILINGUAL UNIVERSE:
PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH

by Dr. Theodore Andersson

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1969

Ladies and gentlemen:

Let me first ask your permission to change the title of this presentation from The Bilingual Universe to the Plurilingual Universe. We all know that there are lots of languages in the universe, variously estimated from some 3,000 to some 6,000, and in our own country we have several dozen in active use. So I think, perhaps, that it is more appropriate for us to speak of plurilingualism than it is to speak of bilingualism.

The truth is that in studying the only slightly less difficult subject of bilingual schooling in the United States, Dr. Mildred Boyer and I were privileged to see many parts of bilingual or plurilingual America that we had not seen before. Our three extensive field trips took us to the shores of the Arctic in northern Alaska, to two of the Hawaiian islands, to Mexico City, to Miami, to St. John's Valley in northern Maine, to Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, and Welland in Canada, just to indicate the periphery of our six weeks of intensive travel and firsthand study. We are still trying to digest the rather intensive education that we received in the course of this study. From our many observations let me select a few to suggest the variety of language and cultural situations in contemporary America.

In Alaska we had our first direct contact with the work done in so many parts of the world by the Summer Institute of Linguistics people, otherwise known as the Wycliffe Bible Translators. Don Webster was our host in northern Alaska in Barrow, where he proudly displayed to us a newly published diglot or bilingual New Testament with Inupiat, one of the Eskimo languages, and English existing side by side. He and his wife had also prepared texts for use in the schools in an effort to encourage the Eskimo population to maintain and cultivate their language. It was interesting to us to be

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Note: This talk, originally scheduled as "The Bilingual Universe -- Problems for Research" was delivered by Dr. Andersson as a summation of the conference activities and has been shortened by the editor.

told that all the way from northwest Alaska clear across northern Canada and into Greenland, the Eskimo dialects are closely enough related to constitute an idiom which is mutually comprehensible. We were also told that efforts to maintain and cultivate these languages in Alaska are not notably successful, nor are they, I understand, in northern Canada.

We had conversations with a number of individual Eskimos and found that there was no great desire to take the measures necessary to cultivate the Eskimo languages. A typical conversation would run as follows: "Would you like to see the Eskimo language preserved in, let's say, Barrow?" "Of course. Yes, indeed we would." "Would you like to see Eskimo introduced into the school? Would you like to see bilingual programs involving Eskimo and English?" "Oh, no, no! Eskimo is the language of the home and of play outside the home." So there you have the situation. Throughout the vast territory of Alaska, which can be cut in half with each half bigger than Texas, we found precisely one man who was really in favor of bilingual schooling.

We saw various other things of interest. We went to the university; we encouraged people there who were doing wonderful and interesting things. Dr. Michael Krauss, for example, was studying a language, an Indian language called Iak, spoken now, if they are still alive, by three elderly maiden sisters. He had been working with these three sisters long enough to develop about eight volumes of material and is hoping that they would live long enough so he could really complete his study and salvage this language for eternity. He was also interested, curiously enough, in the preservation of local languages and would have worked hard to this end if there had been any real response on the part of the population.

From there we moved on along the west coast. We found that the Scandinavian languages are pretty much done for. The Scandinavians are already integrated into the mainstream, which is fine, but with the loss of their ancestral language and culture -- which is a pity. We went down further and looked into such more hopeful languages as Japanese and Chinese, which are spoken in a more lively fashion and by larger numbers of people, but here again we were disappointed to see how far speakers of these languages were from developing active bilingual programs in the public schools. To be sure, there are afternoon and evening schools, in Japanese particularly, but also in Chinese. These have their role to play, but there is such a compartmentalization between this operation and the public education operation that it seemed to us a pity.

We have included among the appendices of our study an excellent essay on the Basques. We don't have vast numbers of Basques in our country, but they are such a rugged, worthwhile folk and have so little chance in Franco's Spain that we thought we would include an essay done by William Douglass of the University of Nevada. They are sheepherders, as you know, and they do maintain their language very well, but there is no chance of using Basque in the public schools.

We got acquainted with some of the American Indians. We visited the Rough Rock Demonstration School, and think that they are doing a fine job there. We visited the Community College at Many Farms and that too represents a hopeful project. We stopped at Rock Point and saw a little something of what they are doing. It looks now as though after many decades and centuries of neglect of our first Americans, we will be able to do something a little more sensitive, a little more intelligent for their education, helping them to maintain their languages and culture and at the same time to acquire sufficient knowledge of English to play their role in the so-called mainstream.

We paid a visit to the headquarters of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Santa Ana in southern California and got a better notion of the full scope of their quite wonderful operation. I am sure all of you know that they are active in many parts of the world, that they are thoroughly committed to the notion of bilingual schooling, that they believe strongly in the desirability of acquiring literacy first in the mother tongue, and then in the national language, whatever it may be. Nancy Modiano can, I think, endorse the soundness of this point of view on the basis of her own investigations in Mexico.

In Hawaii, where you would think we had a perfect opportunity to do some interesting exploratory work in bilingual education, we were most disappointed. This, our newest state, is trying frenetically to join the mainstream and like a lot of WASPS forget as quickly as possible all of the wonderful oriental languages. To be sure, there are still Japanese schools and Chinese schools, but they are not prospering as well as in the past. There is a single Title VII program in the whole of Hawaii and this is on the high school level for the benefit of about 100 recently arrived Japanese in senior high schools in Honolulu to enable them to find their level quickly. I believe it is fair to call this an emergency kind of program, in which Japanese is used as a medium of instruction long enough to enable them to operate in English.

Our visit to Mexico City turned out to be one of the most fruitful parts of our travel. What we saw, for example, were private schools, the only ones in Mexico with bilingual schooling. We saw, for example, the Hamilton School, where children begin at the age of three and are taught first in English, their second language. They are even taught to read and write in English before they are in Spanish, which seems like a contradiction of the usual principle that is so widely recognized. But the fact is that Spanish is their native language and they teach themselves to read and write in Spanish by virtue of having learned to read and write English. The director of the school and the teachers were of one mind in believing that, under the circumstances prevailing in that school, this was a feasible way of proceeding. Let me point out that if anybody is tempted to translate this procedure to south Texas it won't work because the Spanish of south Texas does not enjoy the same prestige that English does in Mexico City.

Perhaps the most interesting experience we had in Mexico City was seeing the J. L. Peretz Hebrew school, a private, elitist school. It accepts children of three from the middle and upper classes. It starts by teaching them in Yiddish at the ages of three and four. At the age of five they then have Hebrew added to the curriculum and the day is divided in half between Yiddish and Hebrew. By the time they are six and have to face up to the official Mexican curriculum they have of course to do this curriculum in the official language of Mexico, Spanish, but the school has done so well that it has obtained from the authorities special permission to telescope the official program into half of the day. The other half of the day is still divided between Yiddish and Hebrew. So the children, from the age of six on study in three languages: Spanish, Yiddish, and Hebrew. This continues until they reach the seventh grade, at which time, according to the official Mexican curriculum, English is introduced. But these children have been learning so happily and so successfully that they haven't been willing to wait until this advanced age to learn English. They have learned English privately. So there they sit, all sixty of them bunched in a room, bored stiff with the official program. The school authorities seem to have no thought that these children might be advanced into a second, third, or fourth level of English. This was the only real reservation we had about this school program. Otherwise it was a very inspiring school. Joshua Fishman tells us that there are other similar schools in Canada and in the United States.

In Texas where we have also done a good deal of traveling, we have the distinction of having the greatest number of active bilingual programs, some 12 to 15, I should say, and we will have 19 this coming year, supported under Title VII, plus a few others, perhaps as many as 25 varied programs altogether. We have spoken of the programs in San Antonio. The San Antonio Independent School District also has one of the two oldest Texas programs, interesting by virtue of its experimental design and successful in many ways. The United Consolidated School District likewise began in the same year -- 1964 -- and in a small school district has developed a fine sense of morale. There is, however, in Texas, as in other parts of the country, an equivocal public attitude. Neither the English-speaking nor the Spanish-speaking part of the population is quite sure that it wants bilingual education. It is imperfectly understood as yet, and even if it were perfectly understood, it might still not be welcomed with open arms. For example, Al Ramirez has been working for several years in Edinburg and has had to operate on the assumption that the only thing that would be tolerated in his area would be English as a second language (he has bootlegged a modest amount of Spanish in the process), but now an official bilingual program will make it possible for him to operate a little more freely. In Texas, as in many other states, I think that there is not yet a sufficient collaboration between schools, communities, universities, regional education service centers, such as the one that Al is with in Edinburg, and regional laboratories, such as Mildred Boyer and I are with now. There is room for an immense amount of interesting and useful work to be done as we develop a better sense of collaboration.

We visited the Dade County program, in Miami, once again, after a hiatus of several years. In the meantime it had become a veritable goldfish bowl. This, of course, is not as it should be, and those of you who are planning successful bilingual programs had better plan for some receptionists and some one-way glass in your classrooms so as to be able to handle the crowds which are going to be coming to see how successful you are.

We stopped in Washington, where there are all sorts of activities in the U.S. Office of Education, in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in CODAF (the United

States-Mexico Commission for Border Development and Friendship). CODAF is an inter-agency group of high-powered bureaucrats who are interested in improving the relations between the U.S. and Mexico, particularly in the educational and cultural realms. I might mention in passing the Books for the People Fund, an as yet unfunded operation under the direction of Mrs. Marietta Daniels Shepard, Librarian of the Pan American Union. It is an operation for gathering books in Spanish from various Spanish-speaking countries, and particularly books for children. An allied organization is known as Proyecto Leer, which classifies these books and sends out lists so that they may be ordered by interested schools or school libraries. We also visited the International School in Washington, an interesting private bilingual school featuring French and Spanish as well as English.

In New York we saw the famous P.S. 25, The Bilingual School, in the Bronx, and P.S. 1, the oldest school in New York, which will be trilingual this coming year, teaching in and through Chinese, Spanish and English.

We were delighted to observe the situation in French New England. We found in St. John's Valley in upper Maine, as I'm sure there is in New Hampshire and in parts of Vermont, a great potential for bilingual French-English education.

Perhaps the high spot of all our visiting this year was the time spent in Quebec, where William Mackey was our exquisite host and showed us a marvelously organized International Center for Research on Bilingualism. The fine mind that you have seen at work at this conference shows at every turn in this Center. We are fortunate to have such a research center so close at hand in Quebec City. This year Heinz Kloss is associated with him and other eminent students and researchers in the field of bilingualism. They are compiling, for example, the outstanding bibliography on bilingualism, which will have about 12,000 titles, most of which have already been classified and computerized. It is to be hoped that we can in the

United States develop a similar research operation and can enter into a cooperative arrangement with the International Center in Quebec.

In Montreal we saw another most interesting school, the St. Lambert School, where they are developing a bilingual program under the consultantship of Wallace Lambert of McGill University. In this school, attended by English-speaking children the first grade is conducted altogether in French, including reading and writing. In the second grade one class hour is done in English. The same thing happens there in the Hamilton School in Mexico City. The fact that the children are put on their mettle, to learn to read in a second language means that they teach themselves to read in their home language. This important experiment has been reported in two papers.

We visited the Ottawa Institute of Education, where H. H. Stern is directing an interesting language center. Stern's new book, the title of which is Foreign Languages and the Young School Child, is a revision of two earlier editions. We also visited the French School in Toronto, which is a very interesting private operation, where English-speaking children are taught first in French, and an interesting bilingual program in Welland, in the southern part of the province of Ottawa.

Not only have we learned a great deal from our travels, but we have tried to learn as much as we could from the enormous literature that there is on bilingualism. For example, it is commonly thought that bilingual schooling in the United States is a matter of recent origin. Heinz Kloss knows better than this, in fact he knows more about German bilingualism in the United States than anybody. In the 19th century we had many programs that were bilingual, in German and English. The first one started in about 1840 in Cincinnati. It is estimated that about a million children profited from these bilingual programs. You can still encounter some older Americans who will say, "Oh, yes -- I lived in Milwaukee and I was taught in German and English." These programs came to a complete end with World War I and up till the present day we had no bilingual education.

The literature on bilingualism is enormous because it touches a variety of fields -- linguistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, etc. Joshua Fishman, for example, is putting out a new book every year on some aspect of this subject.

We have also tried to learn something of the international picture. We have not been able to learn a fraction of what Mackey must know, but we have gotten a certain perspective. One thing that has struck us has been the fact that in France, for example, the Breton speakers and Provençal speakers do not stand much chance of maintaining and cultivating their language. In Spain, likewise, where you have such interesting languages as Galician or Catalan, there is not a chance in the world that these languages can be cultivated and maintained and developed in a creative fashion. In a sort of intermediate position are countries like Belgium, for example, where there are two official languages but no harmony between them. In Canada there are some difficulties also, which have made it desirable to appoint a Royal Commission to study the question of bilingualism and biculturalism; three interesting and scholarly volumes are already out at this time. In Ceylon, to jump to another part of the world, about two-thirds of the population speak Sinhalese. About one third of the population speak Tamil. When they acquired their independence in 1946-47, they had a choice of deciding whether they were going to recognize one or two languages. The majority decided that they would recognize only one. Sinhalese became the official language, and the Tamils have been trying ever since to acquire certain privileges. There is little chance of harmony under those circumstances. A contrary situation prevails in Finland, where only seven per cent of the population now speaks Swedish. Nevertheless, there are two official languages, Finnish and Swedish. In communities where the Swedish population is in the majority the children get their education in Swedish right from the start. And in the fifth grade they start to learn the other official language, Finnish. In the Finnish parts of the country the situation is reversed.

There seems to be a relatively harmonious situation created by this mutual recognition.

The second half of my title has to do with the problems for research. You have discussed those extensively and I shall try not to be too long and tiresome on this subject.

The question of organization is important. I spoke of the International Center for Research on Bilingualism in Quebec under the direction of William Mackey. I think that we must also develop research centers in the United States. There has been talk about having a single research center. In my opinion this would be unfortunate. I do not think we are ready for this yet. We have several potential centers, and I think need them all. For example, the U.S. Office of Education Bureau of Research is a natural center for supporting research, as is the BIA in a special area. The Center for Applied Linguistics with the ERIC operation in the field of applied linguistics (including bilingualism) is another. The Modern Language Association has been very active in the foreign language field, as is ACTFL now, but I think that to have any organization with a foreign-language bias primarily would be a mistake. TESOL is a very admirable and active young organization but the emphasis here is on English as a second language. Whereas English as a second language is a necessary component of bilingual education, I do not believe that bilingual education should be under the exclusive roof of TESOL. Some universities are interested, and some regional laboratories can do good work, but again I don't believe that they constitute adequate universal centers. Some of the regional educational service centers can likewise contribute. What I would suggest at the moment is that all of these organizations continue to play their important roles but not build any empires or try to capture bilingualism. In my opinion they should all simply learn to cooperate in the work that needs to be done.

What work needs to be done? In the first place, I think that we need to develop a quality of workmanship which is unusual in American education. This can be done in various ways. I am happy to see that the bilingual education section in the U.S. Office of Education has built into its plans what they call an "educational audit." That is to say, they are trying in every way they can to assure a proper and disinterested evaluation. This is good. One thing that is missing in our public schools is an adequate place for research. Teachers do not have time for research. I would hope that we can gradually evolve to a point where, if a teacher shows inclination to conduct research or experimentation, he would be given released time to do so.

There needs to be much closer cooperation between schools, community, and universities. This has been mentioned frequently in this conference and is of the greatest importance. Every aspect of bilingual education needs to be researched: careful records should be kept, questions raised, issues defined, and research designed to answer questions all the way from a statement of objectives through evaluation and including curriculum design for learning in school and plans for out-of-school learning. If all this is done well, what are the implications for education and society? This is of course the thing that intrigues us. We hope that the schools will be able to operate in a workmanlike fashion, that they will be able to collaborate with the communities so that there will be action and reaction between school and society. The question has been asked, "Are you trying to change society?" The counter question is, "Is society perfect as it is?" I happen to think that it is not, not any more than I happen to think that schools are perfect as they are. The two are inextricably related. Therefore I think that we need to work for the improvement both of schools and society. We have been urged, for example, to make bilingual education relevant. I think this is a fair suggestion to make in these days when we are so often accused of irrelevance in our educational activities. I will conclude by expressing the hope, the hope of all of us, by saying that I think that we can make bilingual education relevant. Let me quote William Mackey, who has said "What is needed is an overall research policy with a framework of interrelated projects of investigation into the problem of bilingual education in the United States."

RESEARCH
RECOMMENDATIONS
AND PRIORITIES

INTRODUCTION

In attempting to achieve as specific research recommendations as possible, conference participants were asked to meet in work groups that related to their special interests. The first day these groups were titled:

- --Methods and Materials
- --Teacher Preparation
- --Assessment
- --Basic Research

On the second day, with the direction being set by a single paper, the groups were titled:

- --Language Acquisition
- --Language in School and Community

Members of these individual groups were asked to restrict their discussions to the general areas outlined by the title of their group. One member of the group was appointed chairman. He or she was requested to make notes of the group meeting, to report back to the conference as a whole and finally, to write up in a professional presentation the research recommendations of the group to which they were assigned. To eliminate the possibility of personal bias coloring the various recommendations, these reports were then sent out to the group members to read and comment upon.

It became apparent in attempting to collate the recommendations and assign priorities that there was a great deal of overlap and a lack of clarity in some of the recommendations. Four of the conference participants, including the project director, met in conference to flesh out some of the apparent lack of precision and to order the priorities in a meaningful manner. Doing so meant dividing the research recommendations into general priorities and specific priorities, which were divided and presented in the areas of:

--Basic Research
--Language Acquisition
--Teacher Preparation
--Assessment
--Methods and Materials

GENERAL PRIORITIES

Although there was considerable agreement on the dimensions and criteria for research, there were varying ideas on the establishment of priorities. These were subjected to a content analysis to identify the most often occurring recommendations.

1. Basic research needs to be performed in the area of language acquisition -- both of first and second languages.

2. A national system for collection and dissemination of information on bilingualism and bilingual education should be established.

3. Studies need to be performed in the areas of attitude and motivation and their effect on language learning.

In addition, other general recommendations included:

--identification of successful bilingual programs for replication;

--research into the three major Spanish varieties in the United States;

--study of language learning in the adult and how it differs from child language learning; and

--bilingual research needs to be performed in an operational setting.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Basic Research

A. Criteria and Dimensions of Basic Research

In order to be basic, research in bilingual education should have some element of universality and general applicability. It may include surveys and inventories necessary to the formulation of basic policy.

Such research should make maximum use of modern research methodology. It should devise and use its own basic units of measurement. It should attempt to be operational. It should take into account, as far as possible, the needs of the total population. And it should develop enough rigor to permit a certain degree of prediction.

As indicated in the Andersson-Boyer Monograph, such research should be concerned with the making and identification of models, the comparative study of cultures, cross-disciplinary research into the many variables, integrated studies of bilingual individuals, especially children, and the relationship between intellectual capacity and the measurement of bilingualism.

B. Scope and Problems

Such research would cover a number of specific problems of which the following were identified by this group:

1. The study of the relationships between attitude, motivation and the advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism from the point of view of the government, the community and the individual. These should all be studied as they concern the English-speaking monoglots, the minorities, and the nation as a whole. The study of the role of the second language in bilingualism and the tendency toward cultural ghettoization, e.g., American Indian reservations.

2. Assimilation *vs* stable bilingualism and language maintenance. Effects of attitude of members of majority language group toward the role of both

first and second languages in the social and political structures of the community.

3. Relationships between both first and second languages and majority and minority cultures from the point of view of bilingualism and biculturalism.

4. The relationship of language to the various philosophies of separatism in the United States, including such movements of self-identification as that of the Chicanos in the Southwest.

5. Effects of repressive bilingualism on personality (for example, the phenomenon of *les déracinés*).

6. Census of language resources in the United States, including a study of availability of instructional personnel for languages spoken by minority groups, and a study and survey of resources for the training of bilingual teachers.

7. Developmental bilingualism and the study of first and second language acquisition and their interrelationships.

8. Legal provisions for bilingualism at the state and local level, in relation to the political dimensions of bilingual education in different parts of the country.

9. A study of the degrees of bilingualism and how to measure them.

10. A study of the possibility of teaching various subjects in different minority

languages, including training in technology, and the relationship between subject matter as taught in one language in comparison with the same subject matter taught in another language.

11. Relationship between the age of the learner and the most effective conditions and methods of learning. Do such methods vary in effectiveness according to ethnic groups, or is their effectiveness likely to be universal?

12. Study of the regional variations in minority languages as used within the United States.

II. Language Acquisition

Based upon the implications stated in the paper "Children's Second-Language Learning in the Natural Environment" by Daniel P. Dato, the group discussants indicated the following areas requiring investigation:

A. Collection of Data

1. We urgently need more data on second-language as well as bilingual development where both languages are studied, including case-studies of successful bilinguals. Although we must consider the entire range of linguistic development in children, we should pay particular attention to less global studies. Studies should focus on certain subsystems which would be diagnostic and comparative, *i.e.*, verb phrases, the interrogative, subordinate clauses, etc. Typically the criteria for these subsystems should be complexity and functional load.

2. Along with language acquisition, we should include the study of cognitive

as well as social factors combining the theoretical frameworks and methods of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. We should pursue such questions as:

a. What are the functions of each language used?

b. What are the attitudes of the young learners and their families toward each language?

c. What is the general pattern of communicative competence?

d. What effects does bilingualism have on the cognitive and linguistic development of children and whether the learning of a second language improves skill in the use of the first.

e. How could effects of bilingualism be measured?

f. What linguistic features are needed for basic communication?

3. On which languages should research be done? We should give priority to those languages spoken in areas where there are large numbers of monolingual speakers of languages other than English, such as Spanish, various American Indian languages, French, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, and in areas of social stress.

B. Research Capability

1. Recognizing the limited number of persons capable of research who are also interested in bilingual education, it was suggested that we find out who is available and then take steps to have these people train others.

   a. We should conduct a survey to determine what the various colleges and universities offer in the areas of psycholinguistics, research design, statistical methods and related areas.

b. The training of researchers should be given immediate attention by means of the following:

    1) Through the long-range collaboration of specialists working on actual research projects. Thus, for example, teachers in bilingual programs may learn enough of the concepts of language acquisition or research design by working along with experienced scholars so that they could conduct meaningful research.

    2) Summer workshops and seminars.

    3) Regular university courses where they are now or can be made available.

2. We should develop even further our research techniques so that we can achieve the methodological rigor found in certain scientific studies. We urgently need an overall research policy not only so that research may be adequately planned but also so that findings may be centralized and disseminated to interested persons. Often dual reports are needed: one for highly technical, scholarly journals, and the other for less sophisticated readers.

III. Teacher Preparation

The first topic to be considered was the teacher aid, or, as the group preferred, the assistant teacher, whose role in bilingual schooling tends to be extremely important. The assistant teacher's position, as a member of the same community as the children, and as a speaker of their language, could easily threaten a teacher who felt herself an outsider.

1. The group called therefore for research into the roles and responsibilities of the assistant teacher, for consideration of ways of improving the assistant teacher's status, and for investigation of the best methods of improving the assistant teacher's professional qualifications and of enhancing the teacher's own ability to make best use of the assistant.

The group moved next to the preparation of English-medium teachers. It was stressed that teachers who will not themselves participate in a bilingual program still need to develop a sympathetic understanding of the program, and of the problems of children from other languages and cultures.

2. Recommended research on the preparation for teaching in a multi-cultural multilingual society.

3. Recommended for research is the comparative effects of using bilingual or unilingual teachers. How do children who speak a language other than English perceive the English speaking teacher? And how do they perceive the non-English speaker? Is the insider or the outsider more effective at preserving the native culture? At encouraging acculturation?

4. Recommended the establishment of guidelines for the preparation of teachers and other personnel involved in bilingual schooling:

    a. administrators and support personnel;

    b. bilingual teachers or teachers who will teach in languages other than English;

c. teachers of English to speakers of other languages; and

d. assistant teachers (bilingual aides).

These guidelines should be prepared by cooperation among appropriate agencies and professional associations, and the process followed should be similar to that used in setting up the MLA guidelines for foreign language teachers.

5. Outlined the need for strategies for evaluation of effective T-T programs.

6. Outlined the need for research in teacher attitudes.

7. Study the viability and effectiveness of teacher-exchange programs between the mainland and Puerto Rico.

8. Research should be encouraged which will aid in the identification of excellent bilingual teachers.

9. Research needed to identify basic language proficiency necessary for bilingual teaching.

IV. Methods and Materials

General

For purposes of the discussion at this conference Bilingual Education was taken to mean the use of two languages (English and another) as mediums of instruction for any part or all of the subjects in the curriculum.

It was assumed that goals and problems in bilingual education would be viewed within educational, cultural, social and linguistic setting of the United States. It was also assumed that at this point in time not much is known about what is available and effective and that the profession is therefore not prepared to evaluate these areas.

Aspects of methods and materials to be reviewed were:

a. Teaching the mother tongue;

b. Teaching the second language;

c. Teaching curriculum content through the medium of both the mother tongue and the second language.

1. Need to explain to those concerned (especially parents) objectives to be aimed at in bilingual education strongly emphasized. These objectives defined as:

   > "To help all children realize their full potential in a linguistically and culturally pluralistic society."

2. Stressed need to have appreciation of and participation in a multi-cultural and multilingual society among both Anglo and non-English speaking groups.

3. Need for information on attitudes of those most concerned with bilingual education (parents, students, teachers, etc.) discussed. Recommended that sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic techniques be used in eliciting such information.

4. Problems of dialect variation in mother tongue and question of whether to teach curriculum through standard variety or home dialect discussed. Research and study needed.

5. Need for sociolinguistic research in language in use among minority groups pointed out. Research recommended.

6. Investigation of materials presently available strongly urged before preparation of new ones is undertaken. Recommended that such investigation be based on specific criteria.

7. Also stated that "No materials should be prepared without taking into account the characteristics of the students, the teachers, the interaction of classroom variables with specific terminal behavioral objectives and ways of measuring results of materials and the process of instruction against the agreed upon objectives."

8. Recommended that attention be given to programmed instruction in second language. Considered especially useful for small numbers and those wishing to proceed at their own pace.

9. Recommended that investigation be made into whether cultural background can influence methodology of teaching;

10. Assuming it could, investigate styles of learning among various community groups to find out possible implications for teaching in order to improve their achievement in an educational system.

11. Recommended that experience of foreign language teaching, e.g., audio-lingual method, be considered in setting up projects.

12. Recommended serious research on methodology and materials, with proper controls and experimental design to discover what various methods can accomplish in the educational setting of United States school systems.

V. Assessment

The members of the group on Assessment identified many areas in which research needs to be performed. However, in reviewing the reports, it was evident that some of their recommendations best fit other reports (e.g., Teacher Training) and thus do not appear here. The other important points that the group did make include the recommendation of:

1. the development and further refinement of existing IQ and achievement tests standardized specifically on bilingual children;

2. the adaptation and development of preschool tests to measure learning ability; and

3. the encouragement of total evaluation of the child.

In summation, the conference reports represent the research recommendations of a select group of bilingual experts and government representatives. While the opinions and recommendations are as varied as there were individuals present, there was one consensus -- that in the interest of reliable sampling and cost-effectiveness large-scale projects should be funded. It was the feeling of the group that the goals of the U.S. Office of Education would be furthered only if the research and action programs supported were of a sufficient size and precise design as to allow for the replication of successful programs.

AGENDA

CONFERENCE ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION: LANGUAGE SKILLS

University of Maryland, Center of Adult Education
College Park, Maryland

27-28 June 1969

FRIDAY

9:30 **U.S.O.E. VIEWPOINT**
Mr. Albert S. Storm, Bureau of Research
U. S. Office of Education

9:45 **CONFERENCE OBJECTIVES**
Mr. Timothy F. Regan
Educational Systems Corporation

10:00 **THE FORMAL SETTING: COMPONENTS OF A BILINGUAL PROGRAM**
Dr. Theodore Andersson
Southwest Educational Development Laboratory

10:45 **DISCUSSION GROUPS**

Room B - Methods and Materials
Room C - Teacher Preparation
Room D - Assessment
Room E - Basic Research

LUNCH

1:30 **A TYPOLOGY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION**
Dr. William F. Mackey
Laval University

2:30 **DISCUSSION GROUPS**

Room B - Methods and Materials
Room C - Teacher Preparation
Room D - Assessment
Room E - Basic Research

4:30 **REACTOR PANEL**

Miss Sirarpi Ohanessian
Dr. Bernard Spolsky
Dr. Steve Moreno
Dr. William Mackey

6:30 **DINNER**

SATURDAY

NON-SCHOOL SETTING

9:30 LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN THE FAMILY AND COMMUNITY
Dr. Daniel Dato, Georgetown University

10:00 LARGE GROUP DISCUSSION

10:30 DISCUSSION GROUPS

Room C - Language Acquisition
Room D - Language in School and Community

LUNCH

1:30 REACTOR PANEL

Dr. Daniel Dato
Dr. Joseph Cardenas

2:30 THE BILINGUAL UNIVERSE: PROBLEMS FOR RESEARCH
Dr. Theodore Andersson

CONFERENCE CLOSE

Participants
Pre-Planning Session

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION: LANGUAGE SKILLS

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3-4 March 1969

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27-28 June 1969

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CURRICULUM PATTERNS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Name of institution or school system: ______________________________

Address: ______________________________

____

Name of person responding to questionnaire:

____

1. Home language(s) of pupils: ______________________________
2. Language(s) used in teaching: ______________________________
3. Number of months of instruction a year: ______________
4. For how many years has program presently described been operating? ______________________________

   Is it experimental ☐ or operational ☐ ?
5. How many schools are included? ______________________________
6. How many learners are involved? ______________________________
7. How many teachers are involved? ______________________________
8. Are there any teachers for special subjects? ___________

   Which subjects? ______________________________
9. How long is the subject or class period? (in minutes) __

   If it varies, please explain. ______________________________
10. Do you select pupils for the bilingual program? ________

    How do you select them? ______________________________

11. Approximately what proportion of learners
speak a) only English? ______________________
b) no English? ______________________

12. Does the learner do his written work in a language other than English? ______________________

Which language? ____________ At what level? ________
What proportion? ____________

13. At the end of the program here described, what type of school or program do the students enter? __________

14. Outside the class, how often do your pupils use English to communicate among themselves?

never	seldom	sometimes	often	always
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

15. What are some of the main problems you have noticed in operating this program? Please feel free to comment at length. ______________________

____

SUBJECTS	2-year-olds	3-year-olds	4-year-olds	5-year-olds	6-year-olds	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Other

°Footnotes and comments: ____________________

____

°Most usual language of inter-pupil communication outside of class is: ______

ONE sheet per school

Name of school: ________

____

INSTRUCTIONS

1. List in left-hand column under subjects name of subjects taught in the school. For example:
English ____________
History ____________
Geography ____________

2. Starting with the first year described in your program (horizontal list), indicate by grade the language in which the subject is being taught. Use first letter of language in appropriate square:
French (F), Spanish (S),
English (E), Navajo (N) etc.
For example:
ENGLISH E E E E E
HISTORY S S E E E
GEOGRAPHY S S S S S.

3. If both languages are systematically used in alternation (e.g. English + Spanish), indicate thus E/S and explain system in footnote. Do not include casual use of other language by the teacher.

4. If class teaching is in one language (e.g. Spanish) and pupils schoolbooks in the other, indicate thus: E
S

esc

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